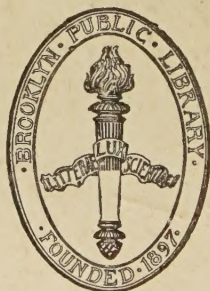


PRESIDENT WILSON *and the*
MORAL AIMS *of the* WAR

FREDERICK LYNCH

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PRESIDENT WILSON
and the
MORAL AIMS *of the* WAR



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PRESIDENT WILSON *and the* MORAL AIMS *of the* WAR

BY
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AUTHOR OF
*"The New Opportunities of the Ministry," "What Makes
a Nation Great," "The Challenge," etc.*

WITH ADDITIONAL CHAPTERS
BY

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PREFACE

IN November, 1917, the National Committee on the Churches and the Moral Aims of the War was organized for the purpose of keeping before the people of the United States the lofty and disinterested character of the aims of the great struggle, so far as our nation was concerned, and especially to create an overwhelming resolution in the hearts of our people to insist that out of this war must come some new international order that shall make such wars as this in which the world is engaged improbable, if not impossible, forever. It was decided that conferences with groups of clergymen and other Christian workers should be held throughout the country, and that the various programmes of this new world order, now everywhere engaging the minds of statesmen and scholars, with chief emphasis upon a League of Nations, should be laid before these groups. Especially was it agreed upon that the aims of this war as expressed in the messages and addresses of the President of the United States should be laid before the people, for they mark a new departure in the history of the world. They

are not only moral in their character—they are Christian.

This little book contains editorials written and addresses delivered by myself and others in connection with these meetings, with an appendix containing valuable lists of utterances by President Wilson and others on a League of Nations and the moral aims of the war. I think the extracts from President Wilson's addresses and messages cover nearly all he has said on these particular subjects. When brought together as here they reveal a new epoch in history. It is the first time the head of a great nation has ever said such things. The President of the United States is demanding of the nations the same standard of conduct as that which prevails among all Christian gentlemen.

These various chapters are brought together here especially for the sake of the many clergymen and other Christian workers who are becoming interested in establishing the new world order. It seemed better to print the editorials as originally written and this accounts for some repetition.

NEW YORK.

F. L.

I

THE MORAL AIMS OF THE WAR

WE have just been re-reading the various addresses of the President of the United States delivered to Congress and to other audiences since the entrance of the United States into the war. Again we have been impressed with the remarkable fact that in every utterance the moral aims of the war are those which receive chief and almost only emphasis. It is a new thing in history, with one exception, England's declaration of war to uphold the rights of Belgium. There have been innumerable declarations of war and statements of war aims by rulers which dwell upon the vindication of national honour, the preservation of the rights of the nation entering upon the war, the protection of property, the preservation of the lives of citizens, and national defence, but no others which put the service of humanity first, regardless of the gain to the nation itself. To quote from President Wilson's address of November 5, 1916: "Why, my fellow citizens, it is an unprecedented thing in the world that any nation in determining its foreign relations should be unselfish, and my ambition is to see America set the great example."

The United States lost millions of dollars worth of property and hundreds of lives through the ruthless acts of submarines. As the war progressed the country faced endless complications in the future, should Germany triumph. Evil machinations were going on inside our nation itself, and the nation was being used as a tool against the Allies. It would have been perfectly natural for the United States to have gone to war because of all these attacks and of the innumerable violations of her honour. But when at last the President declared war it was not these things he emphasized, and he was meticulously careful to say it was not for gain of territory or for revenge. In every utterance it was moral, ethical, religious aims that were emphasized. This marks a new era in history. It was one of the great steps forward in civilization, when civilization seemed tottering to the ground.

Five aims are mentioned again and again in these addresses. It is well that we should dwell upon these five aims, for they are all moral, religious aims.

1. In almost every address Mr. Wilson says we have entered upon this war to secure democracy for the whole world. "The world must be made safe for democracy." But democracy is a religious thing. It came straight from Jesus Christ. It is born out of the sense of the *worth* of every human soul as a child of God. It is a corollary of that truth forever on the lips of Jesus, the Fatherhood of God.

Christianity began as a democracy of equal souls in the kingdom of God. And in democracy lies the peace of the world. It is not—it never has been—democracies that originate wars of aggrandizement or of dominion. Mr. Wilson has seen this: "Great democracies are not belligerent. They do not seek or desire war. Their thought is of individual liberty and of the free labour that supports life and the uncensored thought that quickens it." World democracy means world peace, thinks the President, and therefore he puts it as one of the chief aims of this war. But again, *democracy* is a moral aim. And the desire to win it for the whole world is an act of service, which is a Christian act.

2. We have entered upon this war, says the President, to secure "the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government." Here again we have a moral aim. We are fighting not for territory, not for revenge, but to insure for *other* peoples than ourselves the right to say what course their nation shall pursue in the common life of the world. The President assumes, and, we believe rightly, that were it left to the people of any nation to determine the nation's policy, they would not vote for aggrandizement, for expansion at the cost of war, or for the despoliation of other peoples.

3. "We shall fight . . . for the rights and liberties of small nations," says Mr. Wilson in his address of April 2, 1917. And he has said it many times. Here again the United States has set before

it a moral aim. We are to make untold sacrifices not for ourselves but for the right of the small and weak nations of the earth to live their own lives without fear of dictation, domination or invasion. They must no longer be mere pawns to be moved about the map as suits the purposes of great and ambitious powers. Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, they are peace-loving nations, and they have the right to pursue their own happy lives without fear or interference. "America seeks no material profit or aggrandizement of any kind. She is fighting for no advantage or selfish objects of her own, but for the liberation of peoples everywhere from the aggressions of autocratic force."

4. In almost every address which Mr. Wilson has made during the last year he has put as the great objective of the war a league of nations pledged to settle its own disputes by peaceful methods and committed, through its united power, to preserve the peace of the world. "We shall fight . . . for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free." (The many utterances of the President to this effect have been collated in Appendix III.) This is simply brotherhood, co-operation, good-will, mutual service, the common life, applied to nations as Christianity has applied them to individuals from the beginning. It is putting the kingdom of righteousness above the selfishness of nationalism. It

is the realizing of "each for all, and all for each" in the realm of nations as we have long since realized it among men within the nation. It is establishing a democracy of nations similar to the democracy of men. It is a great, sublime, moral aim.

5. Finally the President has declared that we have entered upon this war to secure a Christian standard of conduct between nations similar to that which obtains among good men. It has not been so in the past. We have had a double standard of ethics, Christian for individuals, pagan for nations. We have said it was wrong for men to steal from each other, but permissible for nations; wrong for men to kill each other, but permissible for the mighty nation to destroy the weaker nation; wrong for men to settle their disputes by guns and swords, right for nations; wrong for men to seek revenge, the natural thing for nations. We have condemned the man who lives for self alone, for his rights alone, and we have called that man a knave who would seek his rights at the cost of the community's suffering, but we have expected nations to live for self and to plunge the whole world into misery to vindicate their own rights or honour. We have called the man who served most the great man; we have called the nation which could get the most, by any means, the great nation. All this must be changed, says the President. The nations must observe the same Christian rule of conduct that men observe in their relations with each other. In other words,

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we find the President applying the gospel to nations. When was there ever before a ruler who used such words as these: "We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards of conduct and of responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their governments that are observed among the individual citizens of civilized states." "It is clear that nations must in the future be governed by the same high code of honour that we demand of individuals."

II

PRESIDENT WILSON'S IDEAL FOR AMERICA

IN Appendix VI we have brought together thirty-four utterances of President Wilson, chosen from almost as many addresses, on the ideals he cherishes for America. We believe that we run no risk of contradiction when we say that in no collection of utterances on national ideals by any ruler of past or present times could any such selection as this be made. As Mr. Wilson himself has said in one of his addresses: "It is an unprecedented thing in the world that any nation in determining its foreign relations should be unselfish, and my ambition is to see America set the great example." But in every utterance of Mr. Wilson the ideals for America are as unselfish as those that the finest Christian gentleman would set for himself. The American people seem to be just realizing to how high a pitch the President is raising these national ideals. Some are even beginning to get frightened, for there are many individuals who are not as unselfish as Mr. Wilson wishes to have the nation become. He is demanding that the nation act in a

Christian way, become a Christian nation—not in the sense that everybody in it will be Christian, but that it conform as a government to the standards of a Christian gentleman.

It is interesting to note the effect that these ideals are having abroad. At first England was a little sceptical of them. Now her statesmen and prophets are using Mr. Wilson's words, and her labour parties are introducing them into their constitutions. Germany naturally looks upon them as either hypocritical or the vagaries of a visionary and dreamer. No echo of any such sentiments as ideals for nations has yet come from any of her statesmen. It would mean the end of this war—and perhaps of all war—should the German government be willing sincerely to propound these sentiments as the national ideals. But it is a great thing that the ruler of one nation propounds them in his every utterance. It is not too much to hope that the preachers in the churches may follow him, and help to make these really Christian ideals the ideals of the United States. If one will closely study the thirty-four extracts he will find they may be grouped somewhat as follows:

1. "America exists not to serve itself, but to serve mankind." The philosophy of nations has always been that the one aim and purpose of the nation was to serve itself, and generally to serve itself at the expense of other weaker nations. No wonder that the German papers said, when Mr. Wilson ut-

tered just these words in his address of September 28, 1915, that the President was pharisaical. He said: "There have been other nations as rich as we; there have been other nations as powerful; there have been other nations as spirited; but I hope we shall never forget that we created this nation, not to serve ourselves, but to serve mankind." Nobody could believe that a ruler of a great nation held such ideals for his country. It would be the end of a nation's existence, said the Germans, should it hold such views. But Mr. Wilson insists that this shall be the ideal for America, and he has uttered it again and again.

"Come, let us renew our allegiance to America, conserve her strength in its purity, make her chief among those who serve mankind"; "We did not set this government up in order that we might have a selfish and separate liberty, for we are now ready to come to your assistance and fight upon the field of the world the cause of human liberty"; "She is fighting for no advantage or selfish object of her own, but for the liberation of people everywhere from the aggressions of autocratic force"; "For we are part of the world, and nothing that concerns the whole world can be indifferent to us. We want always to hold the force of America to fight for what? Not merely for the rights of property or of national ambition, but for the rights of mankind." And thus one may go on through the addresses. Just as the ideal of the Christian gentleman is ser-

vice to the weak and needy, so the ideal of the Christian nation should be service to the other nations of the world. And just as the Christian does not count the cost of his service, but is ready to make all sacrifices when the need calls him, so, says Mr. Wilson, the modern Christian nation will count no cost, will make any sacrifice, as America now is doing, when the opportunity to serve the world arrives. Nations have not gone to war before to serve the world. Let us be glad that when America did enter upon her sacrifice it was in service of others, not of herself.

2. The ideal for America which finds commonest expression in the President's addresses is this, that America shall never desire anything for herself that she does not desire for all mankind. This lofty sentiment is as new for nations as Christianity was new for individuals two thousand years ago. We know not where to find it among utterances of rulers and governments outside of the addresses of the President of the United States. Its adoption by all other nations would end war between nations forever. It is the ideal of the Christian community for the community of nations. Its universal adoption will mark the beginning of a commonwealth of nations which shall be as a new order established in the earth. Yet, so far as Mr. Wilson can claim the right to speak for America, it is the American ideal. It shines out in almost every address he has made during the last two years. Sometimes we can

hardly believe our own eyes when we read on page after page of a ruler's addresses such words as these: "The interesting and inspiring thing about America, gentlemen, is that she asks nothing for herself except what she has a right to ask for humanity itself"; "In the day to come men will no longer wonder how America is going to work out her destiny, for she will have proclaimed to them that her destiny is not divided from the destiny of the world, that her purpose is justice and love of mankind"; "No other nation was ever born into the world with the purpose of serving the rest of the world just as much as it served itself"; "And America will have forgotten her traditions whenever on any occasion she fights for herself under such circumstances as will show that she has forgotten to fight for all mankind"; "The position of America in this war is so clearly avowed that no man can be excused for mistaking it. She seeks no material profit or aggrandizement of any kind. She is fighting for no advantage or selfish object of her own, but for the liberation of peoples everywhere from the aggression of autocratic force"; "My dream is that as the years go on . . . America will come into the full light of the day when all shall know that she puts human rights above all other rights, and that her flag is the flag not only of America but of humanity."

This is all Christian and we are a long way toward a stable and civilized world when even one

nation can make this her ideal, that she desires nothing for herself that she does not desire for all humanity.

3. The other ideal for America which runs through the President's addresses like a thread of fine gold is that she shall, herself, as a nation, act always only as a Christian gentleman would act, and thus convince the world by her example that the time has come when nations must conform to the same standard of conduct as that which obtains between gentlemen within the nation. Nations have souls as well as individuals and there is only one standard of right and wrong for souls. Respectable nations must not in the future do anything respectable men do not do. The same civilization, the same code of honour, the same Christian attitude must obtain among nations in the world as obtains among gentlemen in the community. This is strange gospel to some nations. There are individuals in every nation, even our own, who deny it. But it is the ideal the President of the United States is holding up to the world through the clash and din of this great war. They should be committed to memory by every American: "It is clear that nations must in the future be governed by the same high code of honour that we demand of individuals"; "When I have made a promise to a man I try to keep it, and I know of no other rule permissible to a nation. The most distinguished nation in the world is the nation that can and will keep its prom-

ises, even to its own hurt"; "What I intend to preach from this time on is that America must show that as a member of the family of nations she has the same attitude toward the other nations that she wishes her people to have toward each other"; "We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards of conduct and of responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their governments that are observed among the individual citizens of civilized states."

There must henceforth be but one ethic, one morality, the same for men and nations, says our President, and insists that America be the prophet of this new gospel.

III

THE CHRISTIAN MEASURE OF GREATNESS

WE use the words Christian measure of greatness deliberately, for the ideal of greatness held by the world is quite antipodal to that given by Christ. Christ was very conscious of this and put his own ideal over against it most emphatically—"The world says this, but I say . . ." runs all through his words either in direct utterance or by implication. But the line is as sharply drawn after two thousand years as it was in Christ's mind. One has only to talk ten minutes with the first man he meets, or read the first paper, magazine or book he chances upon, or see a play, to realize how far the world's idea of greatness is from Christ's.

Thus the great man from the world's point of view is the man who can *get* the most. Christ's ideal of the great man is he who *gives* the most. Christ never sought anything for Himself. His life was one of self-giving. His meat and drink was to do the will of God, and that will was the giving of all He had, even His life, to the world.

The great man from the world's point of view is

he who can make others serve him, who can free himself from the necessity of inconvenience and sacrifice, who can make everything minister to his pleasure. Christ's ideal of the great man was he who, forgetting himself, passed his life in *ministering*, even at the cost of inconvenience, pain and sacrifice, to the needs of the world. "Ye know that the rulers of the Gentiles lord it over them, and their great ones exercise authority over them. Not so shall it be among you; but whosoever would become great among you shall be your minister; and whosoever would be first among you shall be your servant; even as the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give His life a ransom for many."

The world's ideal of greatness is *power*. Power is worshiped by the world. Ask the world who are the great men and it answers Alexander, Caesar, Napoleon, Bismarck. In Germany the great men are the war lords. In America the great men, from the world's point of view, have been our steel kings, our coal barons, our railroad magnates, our famous brokers and financiers, our successful politicians. He is great who has *power*. Christ never seems to have given any thought to power. *Love* was to him the distinguishing mark of greatness. The gentle, meek, merciful, ministering man was His great man. "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples (that is, share his greatness), that ye have love one toward another." And

Paul, who knew the mind of Christ, puts *love* as the final test of greatness. Likewise John, who leaned upon Christ's breast, when he comes to write upon Christian greatness has only one word, love, not power.

Another outstanding trait of greatness in Christ's mind was the possession of a great measure of the life of God in the soul. He was greatest who had most of God in him. He closes His last great prayer with the ardent supplication that his disciples may remain "in us," in the Father and Himself. So they shall be great and bear much fruit by abiding in Him and the Father. Humanity becomes great when infused with divinity. Men are great when they are sons of God. Human weakness becomes transfigured into divine greatness when God permeates it. Creatures of time become eternal, the mortal puts on immortality here and now, when God is in possession. The great man, no matter what his station, condition, rank, position, is he who is filled with God. This was what made Christ great, this, with the love and compassion which always flow out of this greatness—that he was God-filled.

We cannot leave this subject without expressing our extreme joy that at last the Christian Church is beginning to demand that nations submit to the same test of greatness it applies to men. In England, France and America the leaders of the churches are everywhere beginning to say that the

things which make a man great are those which make a nation great. It is one of the fine fruits of the war. The great nation of the future will be the nation which lives to give instead of living only to get; which lives to serve humanity and the weaker nations of the world instead of living purely for its own rights and privileges; which speaks for the world in terms of good will, instead of in terms of power; which wants nothing for itself it does not want for other peoples. Great Britain is infinitely greater giving of her life for Belgium than in giving it to acquire South Africa. The United States is infinitely greater going to war for the saving of civilization and the right to live, for all the world, than it would have been in going to war to secure the safety of property or the lives of its own people. When a nation which has nothing to gain for itself makes a great sacrifice, laying down its life for the sins of other nations and to save the nations sinned against, it is measuring up to the gospel standard of greatness.

Nowhere have these gospel ideals of greatness been applied to nations more strikingly than in the various utterances of the President of the United States, made since the outbreak of the European war. Let us rejoice that in these things our nation leads. It will be well to bring some of these applications of gospel greatness to nations to our attention once more:

“We are at the beginning of an age in which it

will be insisted that the same standards of conduct and of responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their government that are observed among the individual citizens of civilized states."

"Only free peoples can hold their purpose and their honour steady to a common end and prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interest of their own."

(We quote the above sentence because of the striking implication that the great nation, the nation of the future, will *prefer the interests of mankind to any interest of its own. This is straight gospel greatness.*)

"When I have made a promise as a man I try to keep it, and I know no other rule permissible to a nation. The most distinguished nation in the world is the nation that can and will keep its promises, even to its own hurt."

"The only excuse that America can ever have for the assertion of her physical force is that she asserts it in behalf of the interests of humanity."

"It means that you have not only got to be just to your fellowmen, but that as a nation you have got to be just to other nations. It comes high. It is not an easy thing to do. It is easy to think first of the material interest of America, but it is not easy to think first of what America, if she loves justice, ought to do in the field of international affairs. I believe that at whatever cost America

should be just to other peoples and treat other peoples as she demands that they should treat her. She has a right to demand that they treat her with justice and respect, and she has a right to insist that they treat her in that fashion, but she can not with dignity or self-respect insist upon that unless she is willing to act in the same fashion toward them. That I am ready to fight for at any cost to myself."

"Here is the nation God has builded by our hands. What shall we do with it? Who is there who does not stand ready at all times to act in her behalf in a spirit of devoted and disinterested patriotism? We are yet only in the youth and first consciousness of our power. The day of our country's life is still but in its fresh morning. Let us lift our eyes to the great tracts of life yet to be conquered in the interests of righteous peace. Come, let us renew our allegiance to America, conserve her strength in its purity, make her chief among those who serve mankind, self-reverenced, self-commanded, mistress of all forces of quiet counsel, strong above all others in good will and the might of invincible justice and right."

"The mission of America in the world is essentially a mission of peace and good will among men. She has become the home and asylum of men of all creeds and races. Within her hospitable borders they have found homes and congenial associations and freedom and a wide and cordial welcome, and they have become part of the bone and sinew and

spirit of America itself. America has been made up out of the nations of the world and is the friend of the nations of the world."

"We shall, I confidently believe, never again take another foot of territory by conquest. We shall never in any circumstances seek to make an independent people subject to our dominion; because we believe, we passionately believe, in the right of every people to choose their own allegiance and be free of masters altogether. For ourselves we wish nothing but the full liberty of self-government; and with ourselves in this great matter we associate all the peoples of our own hemisphere. We wish not only for the United States, but for them the fullest freedom of independent growth and of action, for we know that throughout this hemisphere the same aspirations are everywhere being worked out, under diverse conditions but with the same impulse and ultimate object."

"We are participants, whether we would or not, in the life of the world. The interests of all nations are our own also. We are partners with the rest. What affects mankind is inevitably our affair as well as the affair of the nations of Europe and Asia."

Speaking of the Western Hemisphere, the President said:

"I think that thoughtful men in all the democracies of the hemisphere are beginning to see the real purpose and character of the United States. She

is offering in every proposal that she makes to give the most sacred pledges on her own part that she will in no case be the aggressor against either the political independence or the territorial integrity of any other state or nation, at the same time that she is proposing and insisting upon similar pledges from all the nations of the world who have its peace at heart and are willing to associate themselves for the maintenance of that peace."

In every one of the quotations given above the President of the United States makes the standard of greatness for the nations the same standard the gospels give for men.

IV

THE WORLD AFTER THE WAR

THERE must be a new world after this war. Indeed, the old order has already largely gone. A Sunday school teacher had her class about her one hot August Sunday when a terrific tempest came. The thunder boomed, the lightning flashed and crashed. She asked the boys if any of them knew why the lightning never struck twice in the same place. One of the boys answered: "When the lightning strikes a place, the same place ain't there any more." The lightning has struck the world, and the same world is not here any more. People will never be satisfied to go back to the old order. It has failed and they know it.

What the new world order will be no one can foresee in detail; but the world will demand that it be something radical, wonderful, based on new principles of conduct, on some new relationship of nations. *It must be something commensurate with the awful price we are paying for it.* Nothing less than an absolutely new international order and one that can insure the world against such calamity ever

again coming, something that will bring to international relationships that good will and security that now obtains among individuals is in any way worth the price we are paying.

We will pay fifteen or twenty million human lives lost, five million of them killed, before we are through, and these five million our youngest and our best. We are paying the incalculable sorrows of millions of mothers, wives, and orphaned children. We are paying the sufferings and starvation of millions of women and children. We are paying a sum of money beyond the comprehension of the human mind, a sum which will demand large parts of everything every man shall earn for centuries. We are paying in devastated lands, ruined homes and cities. We are paying the social progress of a hundred years, not only losing reforms we had gained but mortgaging the future. We are paying in enmities, hatreds and revenges that will last for generations. All these things, and infinitely more, we are paying. Surely the result must be something big, wonderful, audacious even, for such price. We are paying hell—we ought at last to get something approximating heaven, one would think.

What we shall get and whether we shall get it or not will depend largely upon the leadership of the Christian people of the world. Now two great things, one political, one spiritual, are everywhere beginning to take possession of the minds of Christian statesmen, thinkers and prophets, as the war

goes on, as the *necessary* result of the years of strife and sacrifice. Simultaneously, in many lands these aims of the war are finding expression. More and more as the war goes on are the ablest minds calling for them as the only satisfactory rewards of the awful cost, and as the only guarantees of permanent peace. We refer first to some form of a League of Nations pledged to settle disputes by judicial and Christian methods, and secondly, to the extension of the Christian ethic to the relationships of nations, as it has been practised among individuals for a hundred years.

It is a most noteworthy fact, that, quite independent of each other, several of the most prominent English statesmen, Lord Bryce, Viscount Grey, Mr. Asquith, Lord Robert Cecil, G. Lowes Dickinson, W. H. Dickinson, M.P., and several of our most prominent American statesmen and thinkers, Mr. Taft, President Lowell, Ambassadors Straus and Marburg, Hamilton Holt, led by President Wilson, have everywhere been saying that unless some "concert of nations," "league of nations," "partnership of nations," composed of the great powers, and all others that may come in, shall be achieved, this war has been fought in vain.

It has been in every message and address of the President of the United States since the famous address to the Senate on January 22, 1917. In that address he says that this war must end in a "concert of nations." Perhaps nowhere has the desire been

more forcibly expressed than in his famous Des Moines address:

"I pray God that if this contest have no other result, it will at least have the result of creating . . . some sort of joint guarantee of peace on the part of the great nations of the world."

Mr. Asquith in his recent widely quoted address at Manchester put this as the chief aim of the war. He said that he saw no hope for any future civilization that was not based on "a partnership of nations" pledged to the peaceful settlement of international disputes, and engaged in co-operative work for the welfare of the world instead of in the selfish advancing of national interests, and also there must come with this some beginning at universal disarmament.

We cannot go into the details of these various proposals here, although they are very simple, namely, to extend those principles of political organization and conduct that already prevail within every civilized nation. But we would earnestly urge upon every clergyman and upon all other Christian leaders that they be instructing the people in the aims of this war as expressed by our President, so that when our delegates go to the peace conference they may be prepared to demand, with the voice of the nation behind them, that new political order for which the President went to war, and which, as it looks now, England and France will demand. Many books dealing with this new

order, and with some form of a league of nations have been published recently and should have the careful study of every intelligent man. Above all, we wish every one would secure a copy of the book just published, called "Why We Are at War," containing the messages of the President of the United States, and would go through it with pencil, marking the passages that state "the aims of this war." And, more and more, the allied nations are accepting our President as their spokesman.

The other conviction that is everywhere emerging and finding expression in the utterances of Christian leaders in both Europe and America is that there can be no world safe for democracy, civilization, or religion itself, so long as the present double standard of ethics, Christian for people, pagan for nations, prevails. The conviction is seizing the prophetic men everywhere that this war must put an end to that sort of thing for ever, and that nations must be brought under the ethics of Jesus Christ as individuals have been brought, that nations must be held accountable to the same laws of God and man that govern the relationships of all decent men. It has not been so. We have had two standards of right and wrong, one for men, another for nations. It has been wrong, even a crime, for man to steal from man; we have condoned, yes, even praised stealing by nations. It has been wrong, even a crime, for man to kill his brother man, except in self-defence, but we have not raised our voice, until

very recently, when a big nation went out ruthlessly to destroy a weaker nation. We put the man in prison who attempts to act as his own judge and juror, and to inflict punishment with his own hands, but we have expected nothing but that on the part of nations. All Christian gentlemen long ago abandoned the settlement of disputes by brute force, fists, guns, knives, and have learned to settle them peaceably, under the law of Christ; but the first thought, when two nations have a quarrel, is to rush to arms. We have long ago learned to call that man great who gives most to the world, who serves his fellowmen; we call that nation greatest which can get the most by any means. The Christian man does not live by a doctrine of rights alone. He is thinking of his duty and opportunity before the weak ones of the world. He would never insist upon getting his rights when the process involved the innocent. But nations have lived for rights alone until recently, and have known no duties to any but themselves.

All this must be changed now, and nations must live by those same principles of action, laws of conduct, common relationships that prevail universally among good men, and are enforced against evil men. We have brought the realm of human relationships up into the kingdom of God; now we must bring up the nations until *all* the kingdoms of this world are become the kingdom of our Lord and of His Christ. We must insist that as a result of

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this war there be but one standard of ethics in the kingdom of God. There is no other security for religion or even for life itself.

We would say in encouragement of those who read, that during the last two years the sermons of both England and America, those published in journals and in books, are everywhere saying this thing. It runs through the best books of the last two years.

V

LABOUR AND THE COMING PEACE

FEW conferences of recent years have been followed with more interest than that of the American Federation of Labour held in Buffalo. The President of the United States was there and made an address which may be taken as the official utterance of the Government as to its attitude toward the great world conflict. Every problem affecting labor was discussed, and on the whole wisely, and always with the world after this war in mind. But by far the most significant contribution of all was the remarkable "Basis for Peace Negotiations" adopted by the Conference. It is one of the most statesmanlike pronouncements that has been issued in America since we went into the war. If it truly represents the mind of the masses it augurs well for the future and casts upon these troubled times a great ray of encouragement. We hope it will be read and pondered by every man in America—and in Europe, for that matter. It is as follows:

BASIS FOR PEACE NEGOTIATIONS

"We urge the adoption of the following declarations as the basis upon which peace must be negotiated.

"(1) The combination of the free peoples of the world in a common covenant for genuine and practical co-operation to secure justice and, therefore, peace, in relations between nations.

"(2) Governments derive their just power from the consent of the governed.

"(3) No political or economic restrictions meant to benefit some nations and to cripple or embarrass others.

"(4) No indemnities or reprisals based upon vindictive purposes or deliberate desire to injure, but to right manifest wrongs.

"(5) Recognition of the rights of small nations and of the principle, 'No people must be forced under sovereignty under which it does not wish to live.'

"(6) No territorial changes or adjustments of power except in furtherance of the welfare of the peoples affected and in furtherance of world peace.

"In addition to these basic principles, which are based upon declarations of our President of these United States, there should be incorporated in the treaty that shall constitute the guide of nations in the new period and conditions into which we enter at the close of the war, the following declarations, fundamental to the best interests of all nations and of vital importance to wage-earners:

"(1) No article or commodity shall be shipped or delivered in international commerce in the production of which children under the age of sixteen have been employed or permitted to work.

"(2) It shall be declared that the basic work-day in industry and commerce shall not exceed eight hours.

"(3) Involuntary servitude shall not exist except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted.

"(4) Establishment of trial by jury."

We wish to comment on three or four of these most momentous resolutions.

Number one calls for "the free combination of the world in a common covenant for genuine and practical co-operation to secure justice and, therefore, peace, in relations between nations." The exact words, "League of Nations" or "League of Peace," are not used here, but this is manifestly what the workingmen had in mind. Labour in the United States has put itself alongside the President of the United States and the leading statesmen of England, France and America in demanding that this war shall issue in some league of the great powers that shall have as its fundamental article the settlement of international disputes by judicial processes, and shall lift the relationships of nations up on to that high level where they shall correspond to those now pertaining to individuals. In England, inspired by the utterances of such men as Lord Bryce, Viscount Grey, Lord Balfour, Mr. Asquith and Mr. Dickinson, and by eminent leaders in all branches of the church, a "League of Nations Society" has been formed, which is advocating this idea with great response. In the United States such men as ex-President Taft, President Lowell, Ambassador Marburg, Hon. Oscar S. Straus and Dr. Hamilton Holt have created the "League to Enforce Peace," which has met with wide response, and attracted to itself hundreds of the leading minds of the nation. President Wilson has again and again

maintained in his messages and speeches that some form of a league of nations must issue out of this unparalleled conflict. In fact, most thinking people are beginning to feel, as Mr. Asquith put it a while ago, that there is no hope for the future of civilization except in some "partnership of nations." Are we not all of us beginning to feel that only some such partnership or league of nations is the sufficient result of the terrible cost and sacrifice the world is paying? If we go back to the old international order all this uncomputable price will have been paid in vain, all this sacrifice of pain and life have been of no avail. This new political order is the only adequate reward of the unspeakable agony. We are glad that labour has put itself upon record to this effect.

Number three declares that there should be "no political or economic restrictions meant to benefit some nations and to cripple or embarrass others." Here again the words are *general*, but it is at once patent that they are called forth by the Paris conference of the Allies, where the question of continuing the war against Germany by economic measures after the military victory against her should be won, was discussed. The best minds in every nation have revolted against this. The revolt was manifested not only in America—we were not in the war at that time—but in England, France and Japan. It would be not only an unchristian act, but it would make any future peace of the world impossible.

It would sow the most prolific seeds of future wars, it would defeat the very ends for which all the nations are fighting, and it would make any league of nations for permanent peace impossible. It is well to recall the words of our own President here: "Punitive damages, the dismemberment of empires, the establishment of selfish and exclusive economic leagues we deem inexpedient and in the end worse than futile; no proper basis for a peace of any kind, least of all for an enduring peace." We are glad the workingmen have spoken so emphatically upon this point. They will carry the world with them.

Number four reads: "No indemnities or reprisals based upon vindictive purposes or deliberate desire to injure, but to right manifest wrongs." This sounds very much like the Sermon on the Mount and we are glad it comes from labour. It comes, too, at an opportune time, for many voices are urging the contrary. But, if, with the labour group, the world can rise above revenge at the close of this war, it will be one of the steps surest to guarantee permanent peace, and to win the heart of the German people to that friendship our President insistently says he hopes may sometime obtain again, and to that democracy for the German people for which we profess to be fighting. With the clause to the effect that there may be indemnity for manifest wrong no one can quarrel. The entrance into Belgium, with deportation, was a pure act of burglary, and nations that commit burglary must of

course be made to make reparation just as an individual who burglarizes is always forced to do.

As to five and six, no comment is necessary. The whole world is fast turning to that conclusion, and we doubt if it will need any urging by the time this war closes. But, while the Allied nations are saying this more and more, they must be sure that they themselves remember it after the war. For they have all sinned here, as well as has Germany. This war must see the end of "subject races."

VI

A LEAGUE OF NATIONS

By REV JOHN CLIFFORD, D.D., LL.D., OF LONDON

EVERY day of 1917 lifted to view the urgent necessity of a League of Nations, a league framed to secure and to maintain as far as possible to our fractious human nature the permanent peace of the politically organized peoples of the earth.

It is not the first time men have been stirred by that divine vision. In the faraway ages of the world the Greeks felt the charm of it, and framed their councils to give it an operative place in the life and action of their conflicting States—not, we regret to say, with conspicuous success. Prophets and righteous men of the Hebrew race longed to create a Tribunal which should make wars to cease from the rivers to the end of the earth, but they died without setting it at work. Again and again in the Christian centuries our troubled fellows have attempted the colossal task of “ingeminating peace” amongst the warring tribes of the world; but the desire has never before been so strong, or the deter-

mination so fullblooded, or the prospect so bright as now, of casting out war, once and for ever, from the commonwealths of the world.

Surely war has to go. Slavery as an institution has gone, never to return. Duelling has gone from the practice of deeply and sanely cultured nations, although it lingers in Germany, along with other brutalities; and war, a relic of the state of savagery, though it has suddenly pounced upon the civilized world from its Prussian den like a tiger thirsting for blood, is doomed to destruction. We used to say so—at least every Christmas before 1914, when we joined in the angel song of “peace on earth toward men of good will”; but now we have a million more reasons for unrelenting hate of war and inflexible will to get rid of it.

“War” a “biological necessity”? Never! It is peace which is life, and life for evermore. The soul of the world can grow broad and strong and pure only in an atmosphere of peace. “War the healing medicine for nations?” Impossible! It is their death. Already it has smitten with paralysis the moral life of the people who prepared through thirty years for this Armageddon, and then plunged the whole world into its abysses. It is written in the annals of the ages that the people are “scattered who delight in war.”

The fact is, the Ideal Peace and the Ideal Right are one. They are not in conflict; they are necessary parts of the same whole, and dwell together in

Him who is at the same time King of Righteousness and King of Peace, and are destined to dwell together in His Kingdom. That ideal of the righteous peace is our ultimate objective in this war. That goal is clear. We know what we seek, and for what we are fighting; but the road to the goal is hidden, and alas, at present we have to travel through a river of blood and death, so that we may arrive on the shores of a peace permanent as the everlasting hills and beneficent as the sunshine of God.

It is for the sake of securing this peace and creating a League of Nations to guard it from attack, and to make it abiding, that President Wilson has brought the United States over to the side of the Allies. He insists at all times that "America has no grievance of her own"; that they "came into the war because they are the servants of mankind, and will not accept any advantage from it." They seek "the peace of the world in and through righteousness." To the President that is the alpha and omega of the situation, the end of ends. To attain that coveted goal he is devoting his masterly genius for statesmanship, his strong sense of justice, his broad democratic sympathies, his love of humanity, and the inexhaustible resources of the great Republic.

In like manner Mr. Asquith declares that such a League has been one of our aims from the beginning, and he speaks with authority, for on him, along with Viscount Grey, rests the responsibility

of calling us to take our place in defence of the soul and the soil of wronged and invaded Belgium.

Mr. Lloyd George goes further, and sees in what has been recently achieved in France the setting up of a "complete machine for dealing not merely with military and naval matters, but also with the financial, economic, shipping and other affairs essential to the life of the nation." "This," he adds, "will have a greater effect on international relations than anyone can imagine at this particular moment."

British Labour, with one mighty voice, affirmed the urgent necessity for creating such a "Super-National Authority."

Representatives of other countries have spoken to the same effect, if not with the same strength and coherence, so that it is the manifest intention of the leaders of the peoples to get a League of Nations established, and assuredly it is the fixed determination of the people in America and on the Continent not to rest until they get it. That is the beatific vision of the largest and best part of mankind. That is the clearly revealed purpose of God for the world. That is His plan for humanity's future, and it is ours to carry it out in the best way we can.

For the new era in our international life can only be established on a *basis* that distinctly and completely excludes all *causes* of war. War is an *effect*, and there is only one way of preventing it, and that is by getting at the roots of the causes and destroying them. Men of good will in all lands, chosen

and authorized by the people, must work together to form a Court of Conciliation, and determine its rules and methods of procedure.

The basis on which the Court is founded must (1) give equal liberty and status to all the political groups concerned, both small and great; (2) provide for economic expansion and economic restraint, and the exclusion of all legitimate grounds of unrest; (3) arrange for the settlement of disputes by arbitration; (4) start with the immediate reduction of armaments, and prepare for the ultimate extinction of all armed forces; (5) be universal in its range, embracing all nations that can be brought within its bounds; and (6) be worked so that it shall be manifest to all that it is impartial, holds the balance fair and even, inclines to no party or class or interest, but is mediatory, and reconciling all to one another in pursuit of the common good of the whole of the Commonwealths.

So worked, it will be magnetic. Each nation will wish to come in and share the ministry to the world's peace and happiness it will afford. It is a high ideal, and difficult to reach; but it is our palpable duty to undertake the task and actualize the ideal as far as we can.

Surely we have enough of the old system. It is a political order that *inevitably* sooner or later produces war; and, even when we are not actually fighting, we are living in what we call an "armed peace," which is fatal to social well-being, aggran-

dizes the few, and pauperizes and debases the many; wastes not only the financial but the moral and spiritual resources of the nations; condemns men to be the slaves and tools of those who arrogate the right to control them; hinders the free and full development of the manhood of the individual; and blocks the way to the true progress of mankind. What we need is a system that makes peace as *inevitable* as war is now. The safety of the people is the supreme law, and that safety must be guarded against the intrigues of wild and unbalanced despots, the wiles of diplomatists, and the fevered ambitions of militarists, to whom war is meat and drink, and all in all.

Now, it is certain that America could not have taken its place by our side in this strife, after long and mature deliberation, had not our aims and objects been directed to that end. No people has done more for peace than the Americans. Year after year her most capable and illustrious citizens, lawyers and editors, preachers and statesmen, have met at the Mohonk Conference to devise methods of ending war. Millions of dollars have been freely given and spent in promoting that holy cause. No country has a literature on war, its causes, its evils, and its cure, surpassing in extent or in ability and practical value that which her sons and daughters have produced for the guidance of the world. In June, 1915, a League to Enforce Peace was formed in Philadelphia by 400 of the most representative

and influential men of the United States; and that League is, like the rest of the millions of America, heart and soul and will with us in this war, because it is a war to enforce peace, and to make peace eternal.

They know, and we know, that we are not fighting for fighting's sake, or for revenge, or to punish the authors of this war, or for territory or trade, or to interfere directly with the internal government of the Central Powers; but for universal peace, a "clean" peace, "secure" from war's alarms, anxieties and uncertainties, not dependent on the caprice of military powers, but the abiding peace our modern world must have to accomplish its God-given mission in these times.

VII

THE MORAL CONFLICT

By REV. ARTHUR JUDSON BROWN, D.D., LL.D.

NEARLY two million Americans are under arms. Five hundred thousand are in France and more are going every month. There is no audience in the United States which does not include those who have sons or other relatives in the Army or Navy. Seventeen nations are waging war and forty millions of men are in uniform. Battles have been fought not only in Europe but in Asia, Africa and South America. Northern France is in ruins. Belgium is a military prison. Every child in Poland and Serbia is said to be dead or dying. Syrians and Persians are starving. Armenians have been nearly exterminated by murder or privation. Black men in Africa have killed each other at the orders of white officers. Villages have been burned in the South Sea Islands. Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, have sent their sons to die in the trenches of Flanders. One hundred and twenty-five thousand Chinese are in France. Four hundred thousand men of India are on the firing line. Japan,

China, and Siam have declared war. The scenes of ancient wars are again the scenes of conflict. Egypt is a military camp. Mesopotamia is a battle field. The wilderness of Sinai has once more seen marching men. The Mount of Olives and the Hill of Golgotha bristle with cannon. The streets of the Holy City resound with the tramp of armed men. Judea is seamed with trenches, and airships fly over the land where Hebrew prophets spoke and where walked before men the Son of God.

As for our part in this gigantic struggle, we have said through President Wilson that "what we demand in this war is nothing peculiar to ourselves. It is that the world be made fit and safe to live in; and particularly that it be made safe for every peace-loving nation which, like our own, wishes to live its own life, determine its own institutions and be assured of justice and fair dealing by the peoples of the world as against force and selfish aggression." Never has a people entered a war in such an altruistic spirit. We love peace and hate war. We were not prepared for war. We are three thousand miles away from the scene of conflict. Our historic policy is to avoid entangling alliances with other nations. But in spite of these things, in spite of our knowledge of the horrors that war involves, we have entered the struggle; and we are unhesitatingly spending billions of money and giving up our beloved sons; and we say, as Martin Luther said at

the Diet of Worms: "God help us, we can do no other!"

The churches have a special duty in this time of world emergency. Except the press, no other agency has such access to intelligent public opinion and therefore such responsibility for helping to shape it aright. They ought to be deeply concerned in this war. True patriotism is a religious virtue. We do not love our country in any narrow or selfish sense. We refuse to baptize greedy profiteering and lust of power with the name of patriotism. But we believe that the cause for which our country is standing in this war is directly related to those great truths for which the Church stands and to which it is the duty of the Church to testify; namely, righteousness, justice, liberty and brotherhood. We do not claim that our country is perfect, but we do claim that on this issue it is right—unreservedly, unequivocally and absolutely right, and that as such the churches ought to support it with all their strength.

We should emphasize the moral aims of the war. We are interested in its political aims, but they are not what the churches are best qualified to achieve. As citizens, we are concerned with them, but as churchmen it is not for us to decide matters which belong to the President. We stand by him with full confidence in his wider knowledge and patriotic purpose as our nation's Commander-in-Chief. But the churches are specifically concerned with the moral

aims of the war. For its aims are essentially moral. President Wilson has said that we do not seek territory nor indemnity nor revenge. We have been grievously wronged; but while the wrongs committed against us undoubtedly had much to do with forcing us into the war, we are not fighting on their account alone. America's part in the war would be justified if not an American had been killed and not a dollar's worth of American property destroyed. We are in this war because it is fundamentally a war between Pagan and Christian ideas of the organization of the world; because it is a conflict between the law of the jungle and the law of brotherhood in international relations; because it is to determine whether the people exist for the State or the State for the people; whether nations are to be ruled by emperors who claim divine right to do as they please, or by rulers who are responsible to the people; because no people on the planet is safe as long as a powerful nation comes into the family of nations armed to the teeth and animated by principles and ambitions which make it an intolerable menace and compel all other peoples also to arm and fight or to accept serfdom. On these issues there can be no compromise. Others may be susceptible of adjustment, but this must be decided one way or the other. The whole future of the human race is at stake. No peace which leaves these fundamental issues undecided can be permanent. The war must

be won either by a victory of the Allies or by a reform of the German Government by the German people, or by both. I do not venture to prophesy regarding its duration. I hope that the end is near. But if the war must go on until far greater sacrifices shall have been made and we shall be crippled or destroyed, we can only say that such a cause is worth dying for, even as Christ Himself died that the world might be saved. Some things are worse than death.

And after the war, we must have a League of Nations so constituted and with such powers that it can prevent, or at least minimize, the danger of future wars. Nations hitherto have been at the stage of a frontier mining camp two generations ago when the individual had no protection for his life and property except what he could enforce with his own revolver, nor was there any external restraint upon him in case he chose to rob or kill another man. Orderly society began with a public sentiment which found expression in courts and police. To-day in a civilized land, the individual is not permitted to be jury, judge and executioner in his own case. He is not permitted to attack his fellow men, and if he does so he is sternly punished. If he himself is wronged, he can appeal to the law. The time has come when governments should act upon the same principle in their international relations. There must be a League of Nations with its courts and boards of arbitration and conciliation, and with the

means of enforcing its decisions against lawless and unprincipled governments which make themselves world criminals.

The churches can mightily help in this time of need. Most of us are debarred by age or sex from military service, but we have "our bit" to do in making these aims clear; in unwavering support of the Government; in aiding in the moral and spiritual welfare of our army and navy; and in opposing those evils in our national life which impair our ability to wage a great war for noble ends. Our heroic soldiers and sailors will be heartened by the knowledge that the nation at home is united in supporting them and praying for them, and in creating those world conditions which will conserve the results of the triumph of the cause to which they are giving "the last full measure of devotion."

This is the wider battle field on which we fare forth as a people. It is not merely the strife of arms, but the strife of ideals, the effort to advance the Kingdom of God upon earth. Our primary object is not peace but righteousness, not only because righteousness is more important than peace but because, in the words of the Prophet Isaiah, "the work of righteousness shall be peace and the effect of righteousness quietness and confidence forever." That is to say, peace is not the cause of righteousness but the result of it, and in making righteousness prevail we are securing permanent peace; "quietness and confidence *forever*."

For this titanic struggle the duty of Americans is not confined to the young men of military age and fitness who enter the army and navy. They have a great service to render and may God give them strength and courage for it. We want them to feel that we are behind them with unmeasured sympathy and determination and prayer. But of what avail for them to win a victory on the battlefield if the nation and the world for which they win it shall not be able to utilize it aright? In making the world safe for democracy and democracy safe for the world every one of us, old and young, men and women, should have a part. Field Marshal Haig has recently said that "the war will be won by twenty-five per cent of military and seventy-five per cent of other forces of which those represented by the churches are the greatest."

Because we are waging a war for moral ends and expect the blessing of God in doing it, let us keep our motives and conduct upon a moral plane worthy of our cause and of the Divine help that we seek. Let us not kill women and children because our enemies do so. Let us be on our guard against evils in America which we denounce in Germany. Let us realize that this is a war not merely of armies and governments but of peoples, and that for its successful prosecution the whole nation must co-operate. Shirking, profiteering, extravagance, self-indulgence, graft, and vice, bad at any time, are high treason now. "Sanctify yourselves," said

Joshua to the Hebrew people as they stood upon the bank of the Jordan just before they began their struggle to conquer the promised land. "Observe to do according to all that is written" in the "Book of the Law." Then and then only "thou shalt make thy way prosperous and have good success," and "the Lord thy God" be "with thee whithersoever thou goest."

This is the splendid duty to which we are called. To have any part in it, however small, is to have one of the most inspiring privileges that can come to the sons of men. As Whittier said a generation ago, so we may now say with even greater truth and with reference to this more stupendous crisis:

"Our fathers to their graves have gone;
 Their strife is past, their triumph won;
 But sterner trials wait the race
 Which rises in their honoured place;
 A moral warfare with the crime
 And folly of an evil time.

"So let it be. In God's own might
 We gird us for the coming fight,
 And, strong in Him whose cause is ours
 In conflict with unholy powers,
 We grasp the weapons He has given,—
 The Light, and Truth, and Love of Heaven."

What Mordecai said of old to Esther at a crisis in the history of the Hebrew people, God is surely

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saying to the American churches: "If thou altogether holdest thy peace at this time, then shall relief and deliverance arise from another place, but thou and thy father's house shall perish; and who knoweth whether thou art not come to the kingdom for such a time as this?"

VIII

THE PRESIDENT'S INTERNATIONAL IDEAL

By WM. I. HULL, PH.D.

AS we look out upon the world to-day, it is obvious that the future will be ruled, at least for a time, by one of four ideals.

These are the ideals of nationalities and of small nations to survive and to develop unhindered their own cultural ideals, of large nations to grow ever larger and more unified, of rival alliances among great powers, and of genuine internationalism.

The sentiment of nationality, in the first place, has received such strong stimulus during the present war, both from attacks upon and concessions to it, that it may assert itself far more strongly than ever before and, in its contest with nationalism, succeed in breaking up such nations as Austria-Hungary, Russia, Turkey, Germany, and the British Empire into their constituent elements. Whether these elements will become autonomous members of loose confederations, or politically independent, will depend on how far the pendulum swings back from

the nationalistic ideals of the Nineteenth Century. If the Bolsheviki succeed in making their revolution world-wide we may expect to see, in addition to an industrial transformation, a world made up politically of small self-governing communities similar to the city-states among the ancient Greeks.

On the other hand, if the nationalistic ideal of union is to be carried still further in the Twentieth Century, we may look forward to the complete suppression of the aspirations of small nationalities for civil, political, linguistic, religious and educational rights, and to their entire absorption in one or another of the Great Powers. This process may even apply to small nations which have hitherto been independent; for the world to-day and for some time in the past has been a very unsafe place for the little fellows in the Family of Nations. Even the Great Powers have felt none too secure in their bigness, and it is probable that they may strive to increase to the utmost both their size and their military strength. Hence a continuation and intensification of the competitive increase of armaments, and of all those rivalries in trade, commerce, foreign investment, and the exploitation of backward lands and peoples, which have made the nations of the world like a nest of African serpents, each striving fiercely to raise its head above its fellows and sting them to death or submission.

Again, since only one can be first, in such a struggle, and the other Great Powers must yield to the

first, the plan of alliances which gave rise to the Entente Cordiale and the Triple Alliance may be carried still farther and divide the earth and dominion over it among such world-centres as Central Europe, the British Empire, and Pan-America. Or, if the imperial dream of the extreme Pan-Germans and Pan-Jingo everywhere comes true, the earth may be divided politically as well as geographically into two hemispheres, with Central Europe joining hands with Islam, Russia, China, Japan and India, and lined up against the remnants of the British Empire allied with Pan-America. What the intensification of rivalry in militarism of every form and in economic imperialism would mean under such circumstances, and what an armageddon would probably result, the imagination and the moral sense refuse to contemplate.

Since our country is relatively free from the problems of nationality such as beset nearly all the other great powers, and we are optimistic about the forces which still threaten even our Union, we are more interested in the second and third alternatives noted above. Some of our fellow-countrymen foresee a future of unprecedented nationalistic assertion, and demand that, while still continuing to profess a trust in God, we shall "take our own part" and "keep our powder dry." Divested of persiflage, this counsel means that our navy shall exceed Great Britain's, our army Germany's, and our air-fleet that of France. It means, also, as German "efficiency"

in warfare has taught us, that the men at the front shall be supported by a nation whose political, industrial, educational, religious, moral, domestic and personal life has been revolutionized and made fully consonant with the demands of successful warfare. It means that our part of the earth's surface, as well as the rest of the planet, shall be dominated by Mars; and this in no faint-hearted, halfway measure, but "up to the hilt," and "with both hands and feet." Others of our countrymen believe in a future ruled by alliances and pin their faith to a diplomatic policy of "entangling alliances" which would make Washington and the other founders of the Republic turn over in their graves, and which would probably send most of our posterity into *their* graves. These advocates of a "strenuous" international life have no confidence in the ability of even the United States of America to "go it alone," and are eager to line up the New World of the West against the Old World of the East, with the survival of the fittest,—the fittest to fight,—and world domination by the survivor, as the issues between them. With such stakes and such combatants, the war of a half-century or a hundred years hence would as far outrank the war of today as this does the Napoleonic wars of a century ago; while during the interval of recuperation and preparedness mankind would bid farewell to all that is worth while in a world of democracy, civilization and Christianity.

It is small wonder, then, that lovers of God and

humanity should be eagerly scanning the future's horizon for still another alternative to political disintegration, nationalistic extravagance, and defensive and offensive alliances to the nth degree. President Wilson has caught the vision of this alternative, which comes in the guise of genuine internationalism and he has given prophetic utterance to its meaning, its imperative summons, and its ultimate triumph.

Even as the true statesman in the midst of a bitter political campaign refuses to sacrifice his ideals on the altar of victory, so President Wilson refuses to adopt as his motto, "Anything to win the war!" He is constantly pressing home upon the American people and the Allies the insistent question, "What is the use of winning the war, if we do not win its real objects? Why lose the good we have, the good which generations of heroes and martyrs have won for us, in blind, unreasoning quest of victory?" And thus, once more, to our nation, as nineteen centuries ago to individuals, is pressed home the great inquiry, "What is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul."

Into the heart of the world's intercourse, our President is making a gallant effort to infuse the life-blood of Christianity. For the law of the jungle, he would substitute the law of Christ; for destructive competition, the golden rule, co-operation, mutual service. He would apply in internal relations the doctrine,—so familiar in our churches, so

foreign to our chancelleries,—of “bear ye one another’s burdens.” For a suicidal struggle to force “a place in the sunshine,” he would put into practice the policy of conciliation and the doctrine of reconciliation. Instead of international anarchy, he would substitute international government. Instead of exploiting the “backward peoples,” he would apply the maxim of *Noblesse oblige*, and would summon all nations to mutual aid in their ascent of “the world’s great altar-stairs” up to the law and order, peace and justice which constitute the true sunshine of God.

Governments representative of the people in every land; the democratic control of diplomacy; self-determination of nations large and small; freedom of the seas and free access to the seas; no “economic war after the war,” but “the open door” to every one; restoration of devastated lands as a world task; the reduction and limitation of armaments; the development of genuinely international means of conciliating differences, adjudicating disputes, and performing the world’s work by and for all the world’s people. Such is the Magna Carta, the Fifth Symphony, the Sermon on the Mount, of the new internationalism.

Will America follow this leadership? Will America blaze the way? As the Founders of the Republic in 1787 summoned Americans to “think Continentally” and to rise upon the stepping-stones of extreme State Sovereignty to the heights of the

new Constitution and Union, so to-day the summons has gone forth to our fellow-countrymen and the world to "think Internationally" and to rise upon the stepping-stones of extreme National Sovereignty to the heights of the new Internationalism. Unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall much be required; unto America much has been given. The Old World which now lies wounded nearly unto death has done its best for us in centuries past; can we repay that debt in part by leading its nations along the path of disarmament and judicial settlement, of conciliation and co-operation, which has led the States of our Union to such abounding peace and progress?

"Once to every man and nation
Comes the moment to decide,
In the strife of truth with falsehood,
For the good or evil side.

Hast thou chosen, oh my people?"

Just now our ears are deafened by the tumult and the shouting of the present conflict; but under its cover are rallying among every nation the forces of reactionary imperialism, preparatory to carrying on after the war the old, old struggle of militarism and industrial or political autocracy against the rights of men and the peace of nations. With the national flag as a fetich, with an appeal to the fears

and prejudices of nations, they are entrenching themselves in readiness for the impending conflict. Already the lines are drawn through every nation, with the junkers, the special interests, the old gods of lust and selfishness and bloodshed on one side and the hosts of forward-looking men and the God of peace and righteousness on the other. The leaders on one side in this struggle are skulking under ground, evading the true issue, dulling the thoughts and sharpening the passions of their followers; the leader on the other side has made his gallant appeal to all the world and sent it forth on the wings of the morning to the farthest confines of the night. Will America be the first to respond whole-heartedly and aright, as the Israelites did of old, to the challenge of this, our modern, American Joshua: "And if it seem evil unto you to serve the Lord, choose ye this day whom ye will serve: whether the gods which your fathers served on the other side of the flood, or the gods of the Amorites, in whose land ye dwell; but as for me and my house, we will serve the Lord."

IX

FOUNDATIONS OF HOPE IN THE PRESENT CRISIS

By REV. HENRY CHURCHILL KING, D.D., LL.D.

WHAT are some of the grounds of hope in this supreme crisis?

1. We may rejoice first of all that the issues are clearing, that the great ends are coming out, that the significant trends in this world struggle are becoming clear. This itself is a cause for hope,—that we are beginning to be able to trace some law and order in the chaos, and therefore becoming able to act both intelligently and unselfishly.

2. As a consequence, it is a further ground for hope that the present world situation can be seen to be no accident, no mysterious divine providence, but a logical moral outcome of what preceded. We are being compelled to see the logical consequences of the positions of the nations, and that on a world-wide scale. The inescapable consequences of Christian and of anti-Christian policies are becoming unmistakably manifest. We must choose between

them. The inevitable final results to all men, of exclusive national selfishness and of immeasurable national arrogance, are to be read in Belgium and Armenia. The folly, the ultimate impossibility, and the terrors of an anti-Christian philosophy of the state are to be seen, too, in that indescribably desolated Belgium and France and in outraged Armenia, demonstrable to every sense and faculty of man. For there has been there made a veritable hell on earth, in which life is not worth living. There is here revealed, not merely the savagery of barbarism, but a deliberately adopted, scientifically developed, and philosophically defended fiendish terrorism, infinitely more threatening than native barbarism.

The terrible consequences upon the perpetrators themselves bear witness. Is there any spectacle more terrifying than that a Christian nation should be proud of the desolation which it has produced, (witness the legend on the ruins of France—"Do not curse; just wonder") and be morally blind to its own shame and to the abhorrence which it has awakened in the rest of the civilized world? Out of this same national arrogance and selfishness has grown Germany's utter inability to read any other people aright.

But it should be remembered at the same time that the progress of events in this war is bringing out with similar increasing clearness all the inconsistencies of the Allies. Wherever there has been unfair treatment of other races; wherever there has

been failure in a true democracy, there the Allies too are forced to face a new challenge. Ireland and India and Persia and Finland and the Balkans and Madagascar, our own treatment of coloured races, and unwarranted Italian ambitions, all demand to be faced. It is a day of world judgment. "There is nothing covered up, that shall not be revealed; and hid, that shall not be known." And such a day of judgment is at the same time a day of hope.

3. *The terribleness of the cost of the struggle* is for religious faith, as I have elsewhere said, also a ground of hope. That the cost in money of this single war should months ago have been more than twice the total debt of the world in 1914, and have now grown to more than eighty billion dollars; that nations with more than a billion of population should already be directly involved in the war,—these are only external signs of the still more terrible cost in physical and mental anguish, in loss of life and in waste of moral resources. Men's own indignant sense of this awful price will demand that the future shall show some corresponding advances. We can hardly believe in the overruling providence of God at all, and not look for commensurate gains for the race. Surely such immeasurable sacrifice, however blind it may have been at given points, is not, under God, to be poured out in vain.

4. Nor are we to leave out of consideration as a reason for hope *the lasting value of the extensive peace propaganda which preceded the war*. That

has undoubtedly opened the eyes of men, as they have never been opened before, to the barbaric brutality, to the terrible and manifold cost of war, and to the challenge which it brings to all rational civilization and to every ideal interest. At best this war must be felt to be—what some one has declared it—“the savagery of civilization on the march to save the world from the civilization of savagery.” However short-sighted some pacifists may be, the great essentials of the peace propaganda were sound, and they ought to help all the nations, and America especially, to hate war, to keep free from war madness, to retain sense of proportion, and to cherish a deep care for a better civilization than the world yet knows.

It is quite possible to believe that a nation must take its part in this war,—as I certainly do believe for America,—and still to believe that war is an essentially evil thing. It is an English publicist who says:

“I avow myself an extreme pacifist! I do not merely want to end this war, I want to nail down war in its coffin. Modern war is an intolerable thing It is disaster. It may be a necessary disaster, but for all that I insist it remains waste, disorder, disaster.”

To these words a thoughtful American has added:

“It is in hearty accord with the spirit of this statement of Wells that some pacifists enter this war,

not exultant, buoyantly shouting for our country's flag, but soberly, consecrated to a magnificent charge, but nevertheless humiliated, because war has come only as an accusation, a great indictment against us all, and America especially, that would-be Republic of Man, because we have not made manifest quickly enough our high destiny among the nations, have not realized to the limit even of today's human capacity the possibilities of our consecrated democracy."

In that speaks a true pacifism that faces the facts on both sides; that sees both the terror of war, and the still greater terror of an ignoble surrender of the fruits of all Christian civilization.

5. It is also a ground for hope in the present crisis that *the issues are seen to be at bottom so thoroughly moral and religious and even Christian*. While this fact itself adds to the gravity of the crisis, it at the same time manifestly increases its significance. Here is no mere blind brute struggle. We need not believe "that a majority of civilized mankind is fighting and sacrificing, all without reason and significance for human progress." On the contrary, as we have seen, interests of the highest conceivable order are involved in this war; so involved that it is neither travesty nor exaggeration to call this war on the part of America a truly Holy War. For grave as the crisis is, we may expect the reason and conscience of the race to reassert themselves. We may believe that national moral blind-

ness and self-stultification are not permanently to continue.

6. That means, in the next place, that we may believe that *the war contains in itself the incidental opportunity for a great world advance toward a more Christian civilization*. For the enormous tasks that the war has compelled, we may hope, will kindle the imagination and enlist energy for still greater constructive world tasks to follow. As Lloyd George said to a labour deputation:

“Don’t always be thinking of getting back where you were before the war. *Get a really new world*. I firmly believe that what is known as the after-the-war settlement will direct the destinies of all classes for generations to come. I believe the settlement after the war will succeed in proportion to its audacity. The readier we are to cut away from the past the better we are likely to succeed. Think out new ways, new methods, of dealing with old problems. I hope no class will be harking back to the pre-war conditions. If every class insists upon doing that then God help this country. *Get a new world.*”

In this new world, we may hope that there will be a completer mastery over the ambiguous forces of civilization we noted—the solidarity of the world life, the enormously increased resources of power and wealth and knowledge; the extent of forced co-operation; and, also, a more consistent working through of the positively helpful characteristics of

the world-order—the democratic trend, the league to enforce peace, and the new internationalism.

All this should lead to great social gains, and to the permeation of all civilization with the spirit, the standards, and ideals of Christ—a true conquest of Christ over individuals, classes, institutions, nations, and races.

7. A special ground of hope is to be found in the *positively helpful factors*, noted in the changing world-order—the democratic trend, the virtual existence already of a league of nations to enforce peace, and the new actual internationalism.

(1) First of all, *the general trend, the world over, toward democracy*, is most notable. Every nation, even in Asia, except Afghanistan, is living under some form of constitution. China, with its immense territory and population, has become republican, even unstably so. The Russian revolution, in spite of the grave anxieties it now stirs, was a prodigious achievement in itself, and prophetic of similar changes elsewhere. Everywhere the war bids fair, with simple justice, to extend the suffrage and the recognition of the rights of the common people among all the belligerents. The sweeping changes in the suffrage which are planned in England, including its extension to women, and the bringing of India into the Imperial Conference, are illustrations. Situations inconsistent with an essentially democratic viewpoint, men more and more feel are not to be defended. Even in Germany demo-

cratic aspirations have found vigorous utterance. Maximilian Harden speaks undoubtedly for many Germans when he says:

"Because our existence depends on it—demands it—must we go toward democracy. There is democracy all around; who dares stop the wheel of history? The union of peoples is on the way; do we wish to freeze outside?"

Scheidemann, leader of the majority of the Socialist Party in the Reichstag, declares:

"The whole world sees among our enemies more or less developed forms of democracy, and in us it sees only Prussians."

Ledebour dared to say in the Reichstag: "We regard a republic as a coming inevitable development in Germany."

An equally prominent English publicist similarly remarks:

"The stars in their courses, the logic of circumstances, the everyday needs and everyday intelligence of man, all these things march irresistibly towards a permanent world peace based on democratic republicanism."

(2) Moreover, it is not too much to say—and it is a most significant and encouraging fact—that, now that the cause of the Allies is cleared of the gross inconsistency of the Russian autocracy, a League of Nations to enforce peace is already in existence. As one of our most thoughtful editors puts it:

"*The league of peace exists sooner than any of us dared to hope. What was a paper plan and a theoretic vision two years ago, is today a reality. The liberal peoples of the world are united in a common cause.*"

(3) It is of even deeper significance, that, as the war has spread and the needs of the world have become greater, *a new internationalism has arisen, and a supernational control of necessities* has been practically forced upon the Allies. *The New Republic's* statement must impress the thinking man:

"What is being arranged in Washington these days is really a gigantic experiment in internationalism. For the first time in history the food supply, the shipping, the credit, and the manpower of the nations are to be put under something like joint administration. We are witnessing the creation of a supernational control of the world's necessities. The men who are charged with conducting this war are now compelled to think as international statesmen. The old notions of sovereignty no longer govern the facts. Three of the unifying forces of mankind are at work—hunger, danger and a great hope. They are sweeping into the scrap heap the separatist theories that nations should be self-sufficing economically and absolutely independent politically. . . . A new and more powerful machinery of internationalism is being created. It is a true internationalism because it deals not with dynastic and diplomatic alliances but with the co-

operative control of those vital supplies on which human life depends. . . . This is the birth of the League of Nations."

Such internationalism—built upon a true nationalism, for they are not inconsistent—opens up a vision of a new world. For the problems here forced by the war are in truth always the only less critical problems of peace also. The earth and the race are perfectly capable of producing an adequate supply of all that men need, the world over. Famines anywhere are truly unnecessary. The great problems of peace are these same problems of an humane and scientific control of production, distribution and consumption. Here is opportunity for men's highest powers in times of peace; here, a great challenge for that liberation of human energies in peaceful outlets for which Bertrand Russell pleads.

"The United States, we believe and hope (says another editor), is already permanently a member of an international federation that will finally, in some form or other, embrace all progressive countries, and decide at a joint council table, those questions which involve conflict of interests."

There is thus opened the hope of such companionship on high aims, as the world has never seen, that should send a thrill of expectation through every aspiring man. Are we to allow this opportunity to be lost?

8. The war has also brought *new faith in the common men of all the nations*. It is significant,

that Barbusse's novel, *Under Fire*, which a distinguished French dramatist calls the "first great work the war has given us," and which was recently awarded the Goncourt prize of 1916, is "an ardent tribute to the mute, inglorious millions of ordinary men constrained to heroism by circumstances, brave, determined, reliable, but not imbued with any military spirit—those millions of uprooted civilians who differ in every respect from the professional soldier":

"They are not reckless of their lives, like bandits, nor blind with wrath, like savages. Despite the efforts to excite them, they are not excited. They are superior to every sort of transport. They are not drunk either literally or figuratively. They have come together, in full consciousness, as in full force and full health, to play once more the role imposed upon them by the madness of their kind. In their silence, in their immobility, in the masks of superhuman calm on their visages, reflection and fear and longing are discernible. They are not the sort of heroes they are popularly supposed to be; but their sacrifice is nobler than those who have not seen them will ever be able to divine."

9. With this new faith in the heroic quality of common men, there has come *a like new faith in the rank and file of the nations*. Men can talk no longer of degenerate France or England or of materialistic America. Belgium has proved itself possessed of a soul which she was not willing to sell. Nation

after nation has refused to take the course that mere economics might dictate. Every belligerent has known that it must defend its cause before the public opinion of the world, and has devoted immense sums and energies to that end. Even the bitterest belligerents have been obliged to learn from one another, and so tacitly at least to acknowledge the worth of their enemies. It would be dastardly treachery for the Allies to forget the unstinted service of coloured races. Surely a practically demonstrable ground has thus been laid in this war for a parliament of nations—occidental and oriental, white and coloured. Races who are good enough to die for a cause, are good enough to live with and in it.

“Thank God that man is more than all his hoarded gold,
And in the storm of death his faith and valour hold.
Thank God that peace is forging upon the anvil war,
And a people’s truth and honour more than riches are.”

10. There are *specific hopes also, especially for the smaller nations*, which this war permits us to cherish, in line with the avowed aims and principles of the Entente Allies, and with President Wilson’s recent messages. Oh for a fairer, juster world! What Mr. Balfour says of the Central Powers, as Gibbons urges, must be said of all the powers: their

“aggressive objects and unscrupulous methods” must be “discredited in the eyes of their own peoples.” Belgium and France must be fully restored, and Belgium at least truly indemnified. Ranker injustice cannot well be proposed, if less than this is done for Belgium; as even most socialists of all nations seem to believe. Serbia, too, must be restored. In general, the Balkan peninsula should be honestly guaranteed to the Balkan peoples. We should look for a new and independent Finland; for a new, united and independent Poland. One cannot help hoping that Japan will be large enough to fulfil her original promise and hand back the Shantung peninsula to China. The unspeakable Armenian massacre should be ample demonstration that the Turk should be driven absolutely out of Europe, and that Armenia and Syria should be entirely released from Turkish rule. If any power has ever demonstrated its utter unfitness to rule over other peoples, Turkey has done so. Some true doctrine of the freedom of the seas should be wrought out and upheld by the league of nations to enforce peace—a freedom of the seas that is not simply dependent on the favour and good will of even the best nation, but is grounded in justice and due respect for the rights of all nations.

II. No Christian survey of the issues and outcomes of this world war could be complete, that did not note the religious bearings of the war. It may perhaps be said, in a word, that, while the war has

unquestionably shaken the religious faith of many, the faith so shaken has been in general a faith not wholly Christian in the beginning. The shallow and sentimental types of Christianity have certainly proved themselves inadequate to the world's need, and we may rejoice in it. But on the other hand there seems to be as little doubt, that the great majority of men have been irrevocably driven back to a new sense of the absolute and indispensable need of moral purpose and deep religious faith both for significant personal living and for any high civilization, and that the Christianity of Christ himself has a clearer field than ever for the conquest of the world. As Mr. Britling says, "Religion is the first thing and the last thing, and until man has found God, and been found by God, he begins at no beginning, and works to no end." That Christian men should fail to see this great new opportunity would be disaster indeed.

But we cannot honestly cherish these great hopes for humanity, and not *work that they may come to pass*. To that end, in the first place, we need to be unceasingly vigilant that we keep steadily before us the high aims with which we entered the war, and refuse to sully those aims by any unworthy conduct of the war, and that we keep our spirits purged clean of all arrogance and hatred and bitterness. That will be no easy task.

And *by and through the war*, and not merely after it,—for now is our opportunity—we may well

have steadily in mind some such war programme as that briefly suggested by Mr. A. M. Simons:

“Millions have died that the trampling war madness might end. It is better to see that they have not died in vain than to bewail their dying. War burdens must become a means of expropriation, not exploitation. Military mobilization at the front and in the shops and on the farms must end in democratic industrial mobilization for peace. The place that has been won for labour in the parliaments of the world must be strengthened and used for the protection of workers when the war has ended. The war need for women’s services must lead to her complete political and social emancipation. The care of peoples in war must show the way to the abolition of poverty in peace.”

X

THE CHURCH AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

By REV. WILLIAM PIERSON MERRILL, D.D.

(Abstract of an address given in connection with the campaign on the Moral Aims of the War.)

THE question may arise, "Why should this campaign be pushed among the churches?" The campaign has two objects: First, to show why the war must be won by America and her allies and to arouse a spirit of determined loyalty and enthusiasm, and second, to create a strong and intelligent interest in the idea to establish, as one outcome of the war, a League of Nations, pledged to maintain the peace of the world and to substitute judicial processes for war. If such a League of Nations is to be formed at the conclusion of the war, people must be thinking about it intensely and continuously from now on.

But it may be said that these matters are not particularly related to the church. The winning of the

war is a national and governmental concern; the establishment of a League of Nations is a political idea. Why then should we not push this campaign among the people generally, rather than among the people of the Christian church?

The answer is not simply that the churches have power and influence, which we desire to enlist on the side of the prosecution of the war and the establishment of a League of Nations. The reason for our pushing this campaign among the churches is rather in the fact that the church acknowledges a higher loyalty than that expressed in patriotism; a loyalty to truth, to God and His word, to Christ and His kingdom. We are convinced that Christian people will not be, and ought not to be, loyal to a government simply as a matter of course, or at least that their loyalty will be far more intense and vital if they understand that these higher issues are involved in the stand their government is taking. We believe we can show the people of the churches that their noblest faiths and dearest hopes are bound up with the success of America in this war and with the establishment of a League of Nations as the outcome of the war.

I. *The War*. The church is concerned in the winning of the war because of the issues directly involved in the war itself.

1. The issue between the people and the kings.

Our American history and traditions are no more vitally concerned in this struggle for popular rights

against alleged divine rights than is our Christianity. Christ was and is the leader of true democracy. He saw the independent worth of individual manhood. He said, "call no man your master on the earth," and, "ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free." The church has been, on the whole, the great champion of human freedom. True democracy and true religion have depended each upon the other.

2. The issue between the heathen and Christian conception of greatness.

Christ told his disciples that they were to have a different idea of greatness from that which prevailed in the world. The heathen counts great the man who lords it over his fellowmen, "But it shall not be so among you, but whosoever would be great among you, let him be your servant." These two ideas of greatness are locked in the struggle of this war. Germany turned aside from the path to greatness through service and took the old discredited path through attempted lordship over others.

3. The issue between nationalism and internationalism, between selfishness and unselfishness, as the motive of international action.

Germany is in the war because she did not trust other nations, because she frankly accepts the philosophy which says that there is no authority, and can be none, superior to an individual nation. America is literally and absolutely in the war with nothing to gain except the establishment of an inter-

national order. This war is an issue between the spirit which seeks the best "place in the sun" and the spirit which seeks only one's proper place in a family of nations. Christianity is essentially interested in all, rather than any group. It is based on a faith in the universal fatherhood of God and the universal brotherhood of man. The Christian church ought therefore to be vitally concerned in this contest between nationalism and internationalism.

The church then has a great part to play in connection with the war, for the strength of such a war as America is waging is in the realm of the spirit, rather than anywhere else. It is of the utmost importance that America's motives be kept high, her ideals pure, and that the disinterested spirit in which she entered the war be preserved blameless to the end of it. Here the church can give vital support.

II. *The League of Nations.* With the details of the policy of the League of Nations, I am not now concerned, but I want to urge that the church ought to give itself to any extent that may be required to support the ideal of an international organization. The church is vitally interested in helping to establish such a League of Nations. Why?

1. Because the church can give to this movement indispensable support.

(a) The church can impart a sanctity to the international organization without which it can scarcely

hold its own in the world. People cannot arouse any great amount of enthusiasm over a world court or any cold scheme of organization. They need something which will give a sanctity to the movement, even as the flag stands for our country and helps to stimulate and support the instinct of patriotism. The international organization will need something which will exalt it above all local patriotisms. Here the church can render indispensable aid.

(b) The church can put a spirit into the international organization without which it will fail. Nothing is more significant than the fact that Sir Edward Carson and Sir Frederick Smith and other speakers, who have recently discussed the project of a League of Nations, declare that the idea can never be put into successful operation without a very great extension of goodwill between nations. That is the peculiar function of the church.

(c) The church can impart faith which is vital to the success of this movement. The great obstacle at present in the way of a League of Nations is the fact that people call it impracticable or Utopian. Many are saying "it is almost hopeless to try to establish a League of Nations, and yet there is no hope unless we *can* establish it." Now Christ came into human life to be the author and finisher of faith. It is the peculiar function of his church to infuse faith, the faith that can move mountains, into just such undertakings as this. The Christian church

should welcome the opportunity to show that things that are impossible with men are possible with God.

2. The second main reason why the church should be vitally interested in the movement to establish a League of Nations is that the church will *find itself* in this movement.

It is painfully evident that the church at present is not sure of itself, its function, its place, its power. To throw its energies into the movement for a League of Nations would help greatly.

(a) As has been said, it would afford a chance for the church to develop and show a strong, living, practical faith. The church has suffered for lack of objects at once practical and daring. Such an object is here afforded.

(b) Most important of all, this movement affords the church an opportunity to recover its international character. Time was when the church was an international organization. Say what we may in criticism of the church in the Middle Ages, there was this magnificent fact about it, that it was a supra-national organization calling for a loyalty greater than that paid to any separate nation or state. With all its immense gains, the Reformation brought one serious loss to Christianity, it split the church into separate bodies divided along national and social lines. Protestant Christianity has largely lost its consciousness of an international or supra-national character. Yet there has always lingered in the hearts of Christians a consciousness that the

church ought to transcend the bounds of nationality. Christians all over the world were shocked when the German church leaders at the outbreak of the war stood blindly for the national cause. The hesitancy of churchmen in America to speak sharply and decisively on the moral issues of the war, when it broke out, was largely due to a consciousness that the church should stand as an international fellowship. What a marvellous opportunity is afforded to the church to recover its international character through linking its life to an international organization to which it may give something of the sanctity attaching to the idea of the Kingdom of God. Christianity would recover some of its lost articulateness through uniting its fortunes with the cause of international organization.

There are immense and weighty considerations in favour of the establishment of a League of Nations which appeal to us as citizens of America and of the world. It seems to be the only ground for hope of a durable peace. We should determine to fight on unflinchingly until the issue has been fought out between isolation and co-operation, between the waning cause of nationalism and the waxing cause of internationalism. The outcome of the war must be world organization. But above and beyond these considerations are the reasons which appeal to the Christian church. The League of Nations holds the promise of the future for Christianity. Through it once more will be realized the ideal so finely stated

in an anonymous writing of the second century of the Christian era, "As the soul holds the body together, so Christians hold the world together. God has assigned them this illustrious position, which it were unlawful for them to forsake."

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

THE LEADERS OF THE BRITISH CHURCHES SUMMON CHRISTIANS TO A LEAGUE OF NATIONS

BASE THE APPEAL ON THE PROPOSALS OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

THE following appeal has been issued over the signatures of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Winchester, the Bishop of Oxford, the Bishop of Southwark, the Bishop of Peterborough, the Rev. Dr James Cooper, Moderator of the Established Church of Scotland; the Rev. Dr. W. B. Selbie, the Rev. Dr. J. Scott Lidgett, the Rev. Dr. F. B. Meyer, the Rev. Dr. D. S. Cairns, the Rev. Dr. J. Estlin Carpenter, the Rev. Dr. Alexander Connell, the Rev. Father Plater, Lord Henry Bentinck, Lord Parmoor, the Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson, George Lansbury, Arthur Mansbridge, Professor A. S. Peake, and Principal T. F. Roberts:

“We, the signatories of this document, belonging to various Christian bodies, have noted with the greatest satisfaction the prominent place given by the President of the United States and by successive Prime Ministers and Foreign Secretaries of our own country to the proposal of a League of Nations. The idea has also, as was to be expected, won wide support among the official repre-

sentatives of Christian communions, e.g., in the Pope's appeal to the powers last summer and in the recent Convocation of Canterbury.

"But more is yet needed to make manifest and effective the full force of Christian conviction in its favour, still largely latent, but capable of being evoked if only the vital import of the idea be brought forcibly home to Christian people at large.

"In the name, then, of the Prince of Peace, we would call on them duly to consider and openly to welcome the idea of such a league as shall safeguard international right and permanent peace and shall also have power in the last resort to constrain by economic pressure or armed force any nation refusing to submit to arbitration or international adjudication in the first instance any dispute with another tending to war.

"We believe that a new system of international law and authority, acting through an inclusive League of Nations in place of any balance of power, is a condition of a just and lasting peace, particularly as it affords means whereby the fresh demands of national life as they arise can be adjudicated upon and equitably satisfied.

"Accordingly, we hold it to be of the utmost importance, as President Wilson has just emphasized, that such a league should not merely be contemplated as a more or less remote outcome of a future settlement, but should be put in the very forefront of the peace terms as their pre-supposition and guarantee.

"Whether it be or be not practicable, without any slackening of the energy with which the war must be waged, to make a beginning upon the league as regards the Allies and neutrals, even before the peace conference, we do not venture to decide, though we think this course has much to commend it. But we are sure of the pressing need there is here and now of giving the League of

Nations the backing of an organized body of strong conviction; sure, also, that this task offers to the Christian consciousness an opportunity to make its own spirit felt in national policy such as has not occurred heretofore since the outbreak of this war."

APPENDIX II

ANGLICAN BISHOPS ENDORSE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Sitting in Convocation during February, 1918, the Bishops of the Church of England gave definite and clearly expressed support to the idea of a League of Nations. The Bishop of Oxford proposed the following resolution:

"That this House notes with special satisfaction the prominent place given by the President of the United States, and successive Prime Ministers and Foreign Secretaries of our country, to the proposal for a League of Nations. We desire to welcome in the name of the Prince of Peace the idea of such a league as shall promote the brotherhood of man and shall have power at the last resort to constrain by economic pressure, or armed force, any nation which should refuse to submit to an International Tribunal any dispute with another nation. And further we desire that such a League of Nations should not merely be regarded as the more or less remote consequence of peace, but that provision for its organization should be included in the conditions of the settlement."

Dr. Gore said that no one in that House could have any doubt about the duty of fighting through the war, because it is a war in a great cause. Every time he went over the old ground he came out with the same assurance on this point. At the same time he was certain that the Church could not be true to its mission if it were not

alive to the danger of taking mere patriotism by itself as a complete guide. From time to time the Church had an opportunity of saying not the popular but the right thing at the moment. They had the call that a great statesman had given them, and they ought to welcome the idea of a League of Nations and keep it to the fore, not as a remote idea belonging to some Utopia, but as something that could be brought into effect as the basis of an actual settlement at the end of the war. It was an opportunity that the Church must not miss. A considerable section of the nation was watching anxiously to see what the Church would do, and as yet was disappointed. He felt that the time was fully ripe for such a resolution as he brought before the House. Before he sat down Dr. Gore emphasized the fact that the resolution was not in any way opposed to the sedulous prosecution of the war, which they all desired.

The Bishop of Hereford said that the imagination of the working classes in the country had been touched by the utterances of President Wilson and our own Prime Minister on the subject of the League of Nations. They felt that the great sacrifices of the war could only be justified if some such scheme took practical shape as the outcome of it. He felt sure they were right, and it was with a real conviction that the Church was acting in this matter on the lines of her own divine and public duty that he seconded the motion. The people were filled with a passionate longing for peace, but also with a grim determination, from which nothing could turn them, to see the thing through to the only conclusion that could have justified its beginning or compensate for its sacrifices.

The Archbishop of Canterbury said that the moment was one of supreme importance. They were one, heart and soul, in what they desired to say and do. The matter was a little outside their ordinary orbit of work, which

was not concerned with politics, national or international. At such an hour as this all Christians were in the widest sense political, and those on whom special burdens of responsibility were laid could find no nobler interest than that of helping to make the coming peace of such a nature as to render the recurrence of the events of the last three years impossible. There were two ways of bringing about the escape from the war idea. In the first place by a change in the hearts and minds of men—the work to which the Church has set itself from the beginning, but wherein it has many times and in many ways lamentably failed. They did not, of course, despair of accomplishing that work, but they saw that it would be long before this change would come about. The other way was by turning to account what was certainly at the moment growing in Europe—the desire for peace—by forming somehow a convention of nations, each of which would pledge itself to employ its power to protect any one of the members of the convention from aggression, by finding a satisfactory means of settling by arbitration the difficulties that arise. If this were done we should have adopted the best means of preventing a recurrence of the horrors of the last three years. They were right to do all in their power to bring about the accomplishment of the hopes inspired by the suggestion of a League of Nations, because in so doing they were looking forward to something which is in accord with the mind of our Master Christ, the Prince of Peace. The Bishops of Norwich and Peterborough also spoke in support and the House of Convocation carried the resolution by a unanimous vote.

APPENDIX III

Extract from The Inter-Allied Labour War Aims

MAKING THE WORLD SAFE FOR DEMOCRACY

II. Whatever may have been the objects for which the war was begun the fundamental purpose of the Inter-Allied Conference in supporting the continuance of the struggle is that the world may henceforth be made safe for democracy.

Of all the conditions of peace none is so important to the peoples of the world as that there should be henceforth on earth no more war.

Whoever triumphs, the peoples will have lost unless an international system is established which will prevent war. What would it mean to declare the right of peoples to self-determination if this right were left at the mercy of new violations, and were not protected by a super-national authority? That authority can be no other than the League of Nations, in which not only all the present belligerents, but every other independent state, should be pressed to join.

The constitution of such a League of Nations implies the immediate establishment of an International High Court, not only for the settlement of all disputes between states that are of justiciable nature, but also for prompt and effective mediation between states in other issues that vitally interest the power of honour of such states. It is also under the control of the League of Nations that the consultation of peoples for purposes of self-

determination must be organized. This popular right can be vindicated only by popular vote. The League of Nations shall establish the procedure of international jurisdiction, fix the methods which will maintain the freedom and security of the election, restore the political rights of individuals which violence and conquest may have injured, repress any attempt to use pressure or corruption, and prevent any subsequent reprisals. It will be also necessary to form an International Legislature, in which the representatives of every civilized state would have their allotted share and energetically push forward, step by step, the development of international legislation agreed to by, and definitely binding upon, the several states.

By a solemn agreement all the states and peoples consulted shall pledge themselves to submit every issue between two or more of them for settlement as aforesaid. Refusal to accept arbitration or to submit to the settlement will imply deliberate aggression, and all the nations will necessarily have to make common cause, by using any and every means at their disposal, either economical or military, against any state or states refusing to submit to the arbitration award, or attempting to break the world's covenant of peace.

But the sincere acceptance of the rules and decisions of the super-national authority implies, complete democratization in all countries; the removal of all the arbitrary powers who, until now, have assumed the right of choosing between peace and war; the maintenance or creation of legislatures elected by and on behalf of the sovereign right of the people; the suppression of secret diplomacy, to be replaced by the conduct of foreign policy under the control of popular legislatures, and the publication of all treaties, which must never be in contravention of the stipulation of the League of Nations, with the absolute

responsibility of the government, and more particularly of the foreign minister of each country to its legislature.

Only such a policy will enforce the frank abandonment of every form of imperialism. When based on universal democracy, in a world in which effective international guarantees against aggression have been secured, the League of Nations will achieve the complete suppression of force as the means of settling international differences.

The League of Nations, in order to prepare for the concerted abolition of compulsory military service in all countries, must first take steps for the prohibition of fresh armaments on land and sea and for the common limitation of the existing armaments by which the peoples are burdened; as well as the control of war manufactures and the enforcement of such agreements as may be agreed to thereupon. The states must undertake such manufactures themselves, so as entirely to abolish profit-making armament firms, whose pecuniary interest lies always in the war scares and progressive competition in the preparation for war.

The nations, being armed solely for self-defence and for such action as the League of Nations may ask them to take in defence of international right, will be left free, under international control either to create a voluntarily recruited force or to organize the nation for defence without professional armies for long terms of military service.

To give effect to the above principles, the Inter-Allied Conference declares that the rules upon which the League of Nations will be founded must be included in the treaty of peace, and will henceforth become the basis of the settlement of differences. In that spirit the Conference expresses its agreement with the propositions put forward by President Wilson in his last message:

(1) That each part of the final settlement must be

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based upon the essential justice of that particular case, and upon such adjustments as are most likely to bring a peace that will be permanent.

(2) That peoples and provinces are not to be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were mere chattels and pawns in a game, even the great game now forever discredited of the balance of power; but that

(3) Every territorial settlement involved in this war must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the populations concerned, and not as a part of any mere adjustments of compromise of claims amongst rival states.

(4) That all well-defined national aspirations shall be accorded the utmost satisfaction that can be accorded them without introducing new or perpetuating old elements of discord and antagonism that would be likely in time to break the peace of Europe, and, consequently, of the world.

APPENDIX IV

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES ON A LEAGUE OF NATIONS

"I have said, and shall say again, that when the great present war is over it will be the duty of America to join with the other nations of the world in some kind of a league for the maintenance of peace."—Woodrow Wilson.

FROM AN ADDRESS OF MAY 27, 1916

"The longer the war lasts the more deeply do we become concerned that it should be brought to an end and the world be permitted to resume its normal life and course again. And when it does come to an end we shall be as much concerned as the nations at war to see peace assume an aspect of permanence, give promise of days from which the anxiety of uncertainty shall be lifted, bring some assurance that peace and war shall always hereafter be reckoned part of the common interest of mankind.

"We are participants, whether we would or not, in the life of the world. The interests of all nations are our own also. We are partners with the rest. What affects mankind is inevitably our affair as well as the affair of the nations of Europe and of Asia

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"Only when the great nations of the world have reached some sort of agreement as to what they hold to be funda-

mental to their common interest, and as to some feasible method of acting in concert when any nation or group of nations seeks to disturb those fundamental things, can we feel that civilization is at last in a way of justifying its existence and claiming to be finally established.

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“Repeated utterances of the leading statesmen of most of the great nations now engaged in war have made it plain that their thought has come to this, that the principle of public right must henceforth take precedence over the individual interests of particular nations, and that the nations of the world must in some way band themselves together to see that right prevails as against any sort of selfish aggression; that henceforth alliance must not be set up against alliance, understanding against understanding, but that there must be a common agreement for a common object, and that at the heart of that common object must lie the inviolable rights of peoples and of mankind.

“The nations of the earth have become each other’s neighbours. It is to their interest that they should understand each other. In order that they may understand each other, it is imperative that they should agree to co-operate in a common cause, and that they should so act that the guiding principle of that common cause shall be even-handed and impartial justice.

“We believe these fundamental things: First, that every people has a right to choose the sovereignty under which they shall live. Like other nations, we have ourselves no doubt once and again offended against that principle when for a little while controlled by selfish passion, as our franker historians have been honourable enough to admit; but it has become more and more our rule of life and action. Second, that the small states of the world have a right to enjoy the same respect for their sov-

ereignty and for their territorial integrity that great and powerful nations expect and insist upon. And, third, that the world has a right to be free from every disturbance of its peace that has its origin in aggression and disregard of the rights of peoples and nations.

"So sincerely do we believe in these things that I am sure that I speak the mind and wish of the people of America when I say that the United States is willing to become a partner in any feasible association of nations formed in order to realize these objects and make them secure against violation.

"There is nothing that the United States wants for itself that any other nation has. We are willing, on the contrary, to limit ourselves along with them to a prescribed course of duty and respect for the rights of others which will check any selfish passion of our own, as it will check any aggressive impulses of theirs.

"If it should ever be our privilege to suggest or initiate a movement for peace among the nations now at war, I am sure that the people of the United States would wish their Government to move along these lines:

"First, such a settlement with regard to their own immediate interests as the belligerents may agree upon. We have nothing material of any kind to ask for ourselves, and are quite aware that we are in no sense or degree parties to the present quarrel. Our interest is only in peace and its future guarantees.

"Second, an universal association of the nations to maintain the inviolate security of the highway of the seas for the common and unhindered use of all the nations of the world, and to prevent any war begun either contrary to treaty covenants or without warning and full submission of the causes to the opinion of the world—a virtual guarantee of territorial integrity and political independence."

FROM AN ADDRESS OF MAY 30, 1916

"And I also said that I believed that the people of the United States were ready to become partners in any alliance of the nations that would guarantee public right above selfish aggression. Some of the public prints have reminded me, as if I needed to be reminded, of what General Washington warned us against. He warned us against entangling alliances. I shall never myself consent to an entangling alliance, but I would gladly assent to a disentangling alliance—an alliance which would disentangle the peoples of the world from those combinations in which they seek their own separate and private interests and unite the people of the world to preserve the peace of the world upon a basis of common right and justice. There is liberty there, not limitation. There is freedom, not entanglement. There is the achievement of the highest things for which the United States has declared its principle."

FROM AN ADDRESS OF OCTOBER 5, 1916

"America up to the present time has been, as if by deliberate choice, confined and provincial, and it will be impossible for her to remain confined and provincial. Henceforth she belongs to the world and must act as part of the world, and all of the attitudes of America will henceforth be altered."

FROM AN ADDRESS OF OCTOBER 12, 1916

"I have said, and shall say again, that when the great present war is over it will be the duty of America to join with the other nations of the world in some kind of league for the maintenance of peace. Now, America was

not a party to this war, and the only terms upon which we will be admitted to a league, almost all the other powerful members of which were engaged in the war and made infinite sacrifices when we apparently made none, are the only terms which we desire, namely, that America shall not stand for national aggression, but shall stand for the just conceptions and bases of peace, for the competitions of merit alone, and for the generous rivalry of liberty."

FROM AN ADDRESS OF OCTOBER 26, 1916

" . . . What I intend to preach from this time on is that America must show that as a member of the family of nations she has the same attitude toward the other nations that she wishes her people to have toward each other: That America is going to take this position, that she will lend her moral influence, not only, but her physical force, if other nations will join her, to see to it that no nation and no group of nations tries to take advantage of another nation or group of nations, and that the only thing ever fought for is the common rights of humanity.

"We must have a society of nations, not suddenly, not by insistence, not by any hostile emphasis upon the demand, but by the demonstration of the needs of the time. The nations of the world must get together and say, 'Nobody can hereafter be neutral as respects the disturbance of the world's peace for an object which the world's opinion cannot sanction.' The world's peace ought to be disturbed if the fundamental rights of humanity are invaded, but it ought not to be disturbed for any other thing that I can think of, and America was established in order to indicate, at any rate in one Government, the fundamental rights of man. America must hereafter

be ready as a member of the family of nations to exert her whole force, moral and physical, to the assertion of those rights throughout the round globe."

FROM AN ADDRESS OF JANUARY 22, 1917

" . . . In every discussion of the peace that must end this war, it is taken for granted that that peace must be followed by some definite concert of power which will make it virtually impossible that any such catastrophe shall ever overwhelm us again. Every lover of mankind, every sane and thoughtful man must take that for granted.

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"It is inconceivable that the people of the United States should play no part in that great enterprise. To take part in such a service will be the opportunity for which they have sought to prepare themselves by the very principles and purposes of their polity and the approved practices of their Government ever since the days when they set up a new nation in the high and honourable hope that it might in all that it was and did show mankind the way to liberty. They cannot in honour withhold the service to which they are now about to be challenged.

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"That service is nothing less than this, to add their authority and their power to the authority and force of other nations to guarantee peace and justice throughout the world.

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"No covenant of co-operative peace that does not include the peoples of the New World can suffice to keep the future safe against war; and yet there is only one sort of peace that the peoples of America could join in guaranteeing. The elements of that peace much be elements that engage the confidence and satisfy the principles of

the American Governments, elements consistent with their political faith and the practical convictions which the peoples of America have once for all embraced and undertaken to defend.

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"Mere agreements may not make peace. It will be absolutely necessary that a force be created as a guarantor of the permanency of the settlement so much greater than the force of any nation now engaged or any alliance hitherto formed or projected that no nation, no probable combination of nations could face or withstand it.

"If the peace presently to be made is to endure it must be a peace made secure by the organized major force of mankind.

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"The equality of nations upon which peace must be founded if it is to last must be an equality of rights; the guarantees exchanged must neither recognize nor imply a difference between big nations and small, between those that are powerful and those that are weak. Right must be based upon the common strength, not upon the individual strength, of the nations upon whose concert peace will depend. Equality of territory or of resources there of course cannot be; nor any sort of equality not gained in the ordinary peaceful and legitimate development of the peoples themselves. But no one asks or expects anything more than an equality of rights. Mankind is looking now for freedom of life, not for equipoise of power.

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"I am proposing that all nations henceforth avoid entangling alliances which would draw them into competitions of power, catch them in a net of intrigue and selfish rivalry, and disturb their own affairs with influ-

ences intruded from without. There is no entangling alliance in a concert of power. When all unite to act in the same sense and with the same purpose, all act in the common interest and are free to live their own lives under a common protection.

"I am proposing government by the consent of the governed; that freedom of the seas which in international conference after conference representatives of the United States have urged with the eloquence of those who are the convinced disciples of liberty; and that moderation of armaments which makes of armies and navies a power for order merely, not an instrument of aggression or of selfish violence.

"These are American principles, American policies. We could stand for no others. And they are also the principles and policies of forward looking men and women everywhere, and of every modern nation, of every enlightened community. They are the principles of mankind and must prevail."

FROM AN ADDRESS OF APRIL 2, 1917

"A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by a partnership of democratic nations. No autocratic government could be trusted to keep faith within it or observe its covenants. It must be a league of honour, a partnership of opinion. Intrigue would eat its vitals away; the plottings of inner circles who could plan what they would and render an account to no one would be a corruption seated at its very heart. Only free peoples can hold their purpose and their honour steady to a common end and prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interest of their own.

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"We shall fight for the things which we have always

carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free.”

FROM A COMMUNICATION TO RUSSIA,
JUNE 9, 1917

“We are fighting for the liberty, the self-government, and the undictated development of all peoples, and every feature of the settlement that concludes this war must be conceived and executed for that purpose. Wrongs must first be righted and then adequate safeguard must be created to prevent their being committed again.

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“And then the free peoples of the world must draw together in some common covenant, some genuine and practical co-operation that will in effect combine their force to secure peace and justice in the dealings of nations with one another.

“The brotherhood of mankind must no longer be a fair but empty phrase; it must be given a structure of force and reality. The nations must realize their common life and effect a workable partnership to secure that life against the aggressions of autocratic and self-pleasing power.”

FROM AN ADDRESS OF DECEMBER 4, 1917

“The worst that can happen to the detriment of the German people is this, that if they should still, after the war is over, continue to be obliged to live under ambitious and intriguing masters interested to disturb the

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peace of the world, men or classes of men whom the other peoples of the world could not trust, it might be impossible to admit them to the partnership of nations which must henceforth guarantee the world's peace. That partnership must be a partnership of peoples, not a mere partnership of governments."

FROM AN ADDRESS OF JANUARY 8, 1918

"A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike."

FROM AN ADDRESS OF FEBRUARY 11, 1918

"This war had its roots in the disregard of the rights of small nations and of nationalities which lacked the union and the force to make good their claim to determine their own allegiances and their own forms of political life. Covenants must now be entered into which will render such things impossible for the future; and those covenants must be backed by the united force of all the nations that love justice and are willing to maintain it at any cost."

APPENDIX V

EXTRACT FROM ADDRESS OF LLOYD GEORGE BEFORE THE BRITISH TRADES UNIONS ON JANUARY 3, 1918

"So long as the possibility of a dispute between nations continues—that is to say, so long as men and women are dominated by impassioned ambition and war is the only means of settling a dispute—all nations must live under a burden, not only of having from time to time to engage in it, but of being compelled to prepare for its possible outbreak.

"The crushing weight of modern armaments, the increasing evil of compulsory military service, the vast waste of wealth and effort involved in warlike preparation—these are blots on our civilization, of which every thinking individual must be ashamed. For these and other similar reasons we are confident that a great attempt must be made to establish by some international organization, an alternative to war as a means of settling international disputes.

"After all, war is a relic of barbarism, and, just as law has succeeded violence as a means of settling disputes between individuals, so we believe that it is destined ultimately to take the place of war in the settlement of controversies between nations.

"If, then, we are asked what we are fighting for, we reply, as we have often replied: We are fighting for a just and a lasting peace, and we believe that before permanent

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peace can be hoped for three conditions must be fulfilled: First, the sanctity of treaties must be re-established; secondly, a territorial settlement must be secured, based on the right of self-determination or the consent of the governed, and lastly, we must seek, by the creation of some international organization, to limit the burden of armaments and diminish the probability of war. On these conditions its peoples are prepared to make even greater sacrifices than those they have yet endured."

APPENDIX VI

FROM THE PLATFORM ADOPTED BY THE BRITISH NATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE, LONDON, DECEMBER 23, 1917

"Whatever may have been the causes for which the war was begun, the fundamental purpose of the British labour movement in supporting the continuance of the struggle is that the world may henceforth be made safe for democracy.

"Of all the war aims, none is so important to the peoples of the world as that there shall be henceforth on earth no more war. Whoever triumphs, the people will have lost unless some effective method of preventing war can be found.

"As means to this end, the British labour movement relies very largely upon the complete democratization of all countries; on the frank abandonment of every form of imperialism; on the suppression of secret diplomacy, and on the placing of foreign policy, just as much as home policy, under the control of popularly elected legislatures; on the absolute responsibility of the foreign minister of each country to its legislature; on such concerted action as may be possible for the universal abolition of compulsory military service in all countries, the common limitation of the costly armaments by which all peoples are burdened, and the entire abolition of profit-making armament firms, whose pecuniary interest lies always in war scares and rivalry in preparation for war.

"But it demands, in addition, that it should be an essen-

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tial part of the treaty of peace itself that there should be forthwith established a super-national authority, or league of nations, which should not only be adhered to by all the present belligerents, but which every other independent sovereign state in the world should be pressed to join; the immediate establishment of such league of nations not only of an international high court for the settlement of all disputes between states that are of justiciable nature, but also of appropriate machinery for prompt and effective mediation between states at issue that are not justiciable; the formation of an international legislature, in which the representatives of every civilized state would have their allotted share; the gradual development, as far as may prove to be possible, of international legislation agreed to by and definitely binding upon the several states, and for a solemn agreement and pledge by all states that every issue between any two or more of them shall be submitted for settlement as aforesaid, and that they will all make common cause against any state which fails to adhere to this agreement."

APPENDIX VII

PRESIDENT WILSON AND THE NEW INTERNATIONAL MORALITY

"Fellow-citizens, it is an unprecedented thing in the world that any nation in determining its foreign relations should be unselfish, and my ambition is to see America set the great example; not only a great example morally, but a great example intellectually . . . In the days to come men will no longer wonder how America is going to work out her destiny, for she will have proclaimed to them that her destiny is not divided from the destiny of the world; that her *purpose is justice and love of mankind.*"

"Come, let us renew our allegiance to America, conserve her strength in its purity, make her chief among those who serve mankind, self-reverenced, self-commanded, mistress of all forces of quiet counsel, strong above all others in good will and the might of invincible justice and right."

"Tradition is a handsome thing in proportion as we live up to it. If we fall away from the tradition of the fathers, we have dishonoured them. If we forget the tradition of the fathers, we have changed our character; we have lost an old impulse; we have become unconscious of the principles in which the life of the nation itself is rooted and grounded. . . . No other nation was ever born into

the world with the *purpose of serving the rest of the world just as much as it served itself.*"

"We desire neither conquest nor advantage. We wish nothing that can be had only at the cost of another people. We have always professed unselfish purpose and we covet the opportunity to prove that our professions are sincere."

"There have been other nations as rich as we; there have been other nations as powerful; there have been other nations as spirited; but I hope we shall never forget that we created this Nation, not to serve ourselves, but to serve mankind."

"America is particularly free in this, that she has no hampering ambitions as a world power. We do not want a foot of anybody's territory. If we have been obliged by circumstances, or have considered ourselves to be obliged by circumstances, in the past, to take territory which we otherwise would not have thought of taking, I believe I am right in saying that we have considered it our duty to administer that territory, not for ourselves, but for the people living in it, and to put this burden upon our consciences—not to think that this thing is ours for our use, but to regard ourselves as trustees of the great business for those to whom it does really belong, trustees ready to hand it over to the *cestui que trust* at any time when the business seems to make that possible and feasible. That is what I mean by saying we have no hampering ambitions. We do not want anything that does not belong to us. Is not a nation in that position free to serve other nations, and is not a nation like that ready to form some part of the assessing opinion of the world?"

"America has a great cause which is not confined to the American continent. It is the cause of humanity itself."

"The one thing that the world cannot permanently resist is the moral force of great and triumphant convictions."

"Our ambition, also, all the world has knowledge of. It is not only to be free and prosperous ourselves, but also to be the friend and thoughtful partisan of those who are free or who desire freedom the world over. If we have had aggressive purposes and covetous ambitions, they were the fruit of our thoughtless youth as a nation and we have put them aside. We shall, I confidently believe, never again take another foot of territory by conquest. We shall never in any circumstances seek to make an independent people subject to our dominion; because we believe, we passionately believe, in the right of every people to choose their own allegiance and be free masters altogether."

"The mission of America in the world is essentially a mission of peace and good-will among men. She has become the home and asylum of men of all creeds and races. Within her hospitable borders they have found homes and congenial associations and freedom and a wide and cordial welcome, and they have become part of the bone and sinew and spirit of America itself. America has been made up out of the nations of the world and is the friend of the nations of the world."

". . . America will have forgotten her traditions whenever on any occasion she fights merely for herself under such circumstances as will show that she has forgotten to fight for all mankind. And the only excuse that America can ever have for the assertion of her

physical force is that she asserts it in behalf of the interest of humanity.

"What a splendid thing it is to have so singular a tradition—a tradition of unselfishness! When America ceases to be unselfish, she will cease to be America. When she forgets the traditions of devotion to human rights in general, which gave spirit and impulse to her founders, she will have lost her title deeds to her own nationality."

". . . We are part of the world, and nothing that concerns the whole world can be indifferent to us. We want always the force of America to fight for what? Not merely for the rights of property or of national ambition, but for the rights of mankind."

"We wish to serve no selfish ends."

"Our motive will not be revenge or the victorious assertion of the physical might of the nation, but only the vindication of right, of human right, of which we are only a single champion."

"Our object now, as then, is to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world as against selfish and autocratic power, and to set up amongst the really free and self-governed peoples of the world such a concert of purpose and of action as will henceforth ensure the observance of those principles."

"We have said in the beginning that we planted this great Government that men who wish freedom might have a place of refuge and a place where their hope could be realized, and now, having established such a Government, having preserved such a Government, we are saying to all mankind: 'We did not set this Government

up in order that we might have a selfish and separate liberty, for we are now ready to come to your assistance and fight upon the field of the world the cause of human liberty.' In this thing America attains her full dignity and the full fruition of her great purpose."

"The position of America in this war is so clearly avowed that no man can be excused for mistaking it. She seeks no material profit or aggrandizement of any kind. She is fighting for no advantage or selfish object of her own, but for the liberation of peoples everywhere from the aggressions of autocratic force."

"We are fighting for the liberty, the self-government, and the undictated development of all peoples, and every feature of the settlement that concludes this war must be conceived and executed for that purpose."

"The purposes of the United States in this war are known to the whole world—to every people to whom the truth has been permitted to come. They do not need to be stated again. We seek no material advantage of any kind."

"My dream is that as the years go on and the world knows more and more of America it will also drink at these fountains of youth and renewal; that it also will turn to America for those moral inspirations which lie at the basis of all freedom; that the world will never fear America unless it feels that it is engaged in some enterprise which is inconsistent with the rights of humanity; and that America will come into the full light of the day when all shall know that she puts human rights above all other rights, and that her flag is the flag not only of America, but of humanity."

"And now, by circumstances which she did not choose, over which she had no control, she has been thrust out into the great game of mankind, on the stage of the world itself, and here she must know what she is about, and no nation in the world must doubt that all her forces are gathered and organized in the interest of justice, righteousness, and humane government.

"What I intend to preach from this time on is that America must show that as a member of the family of nations she has the same attitude toward the other nations that she wishes her people to have toward each other: That America is going to take this position, that she will lend her moral influence not only, but her physical force, if other nations will join her, to see to it that no nation and no group of nations tries to take advantage of another nation or group of nations, and that the only thing ever fought for is the common rights of humanity."

"It is clear that nations must in the future be governed by the same high code of honour that we demand of individuals."

"We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards of conduct and of responsibility for wrong doing shall be observed among nations and their governments that are observed among the individual citizens of civilized states."

"When I have made a promise as a man I try to keep it, and I know of no other rule permissible to a nation. The most distinguished nation of the world is the nation that can and will keep its promises, even to its own hurt."

"I am proud to belong to a strong nation that says:

"This country, which we could crush, shall have just as much freedom in her own affairs as we have. If I am strong, I am ashamed to bully the weak. In proportion to my strength is my pride in withholding that strength from the oppression of another people."

"A patriotic American is a man who is not niggardly and selfish in the things he enjoys that make for human liberty and the rights of man. He wants to share them with the whole world, and he is never so proud of the great flag under which he lives as when it comes to mean to other people as well as to himself a symbol of hope and liberty. I would be ashamed of this flag if it ever did anything outside America that we would not permit it to do inside America."

"I am sometimes very much interested when I see gentlemen supposing that popularity is the way to success in America. The way to success in this great country, with its fair judgments, is to show that you are not afraid of anybody except God and His final verdict. If I did not believe that, I would not believe in democracy. If I did not believe that, I would not believe that people can govern themselves. If I did not believe that the moral judgment would be the last judgment, the final judgment, in the minds of men as well as at the tribunal of God, I could not believe in popular government. But I do believe these things, and therefore I earnestly believe in the democracy not only of America but of every awakened people that wishes and intends to govern and control its own affairs."

"But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those

who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for the universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free."

"My theme is of those great principles of compassion and of protection which mankind has sought to throw about human lives, the lives of non-combatants, the lives of men who are peacefully at work keeping the industrial processes of the world quick and vital, the lives of women and children and of those who supply the labour which ministers to their sustenance. We are speaking of no selfish material right but of rights which our hearts support and whose foundation is that righteous passion for justice upon which all law, all structures alike of family, of state, and of mankind must rest, and upon the ultimate base of our existence and our liberty. I cannot imagine any man with American principles at his heart hesitating to defend these things."

"I want you to realize the part that the United States must play. It has been said, my fellow-citizens, been said with cruel emphasis in some quarters, that the people of the United States do not want to fight about anything. . . . But the people of the United States want to be sure what they are fighting about, and they want to be sure that they are fighting for the things that will bring to the world justice and peace. Define the elements; let us know what we are not fighting for the prevalence of this nation over that, for the ambitions of this group of nations as compared with the ambitions of that group of nations; let us once be convinced that we are called in to a great combination to fight for the rights of mankind, and America will unite her force and spill her blood

for the great things which she has always believed in and followed."

"Are we ready always to be the friends of justice, of fairness, of liberty, of peace, and of those accommodations which rest upon justice and peace? In these two trying years that have just gone by we have forbore, we have not allowed provocation to disturb our judgments, we have seen to it that America kept her poise when all the rest of the world seemed to have lost its poise."

"Only upon the terms of retaining that poise and using the splendid force which always comes with poise can we hope to play the beneficent part in the history of the world which I have just now intimated."

"America does not want any additional territory. She does not want any selfish advantage over any other nation in the world, but she does wish every nation in the world to understand what she stands for and to respect what she stands for."

"They are based, in short, upon the solid, eternal foundations of justice and humanity. No man can turn away from these things without turning away from the hope of the world. These are things, ladies and gentlemen, for which the world has hoped and waited with prayerful heart. God grant that it may be granted to America to lift this light on high for the illumination of the world."

"No one who really comprehends the spirit of the great people for whom we are appointed to speak can fail to perceive that their passion is for peace, their genius best displayed in the practice of the arts of peace. Great

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democracies are not belligerent. They do not seek or desire war. Their thought is of individual liberty and of the free labour that supports life and the uncensored thought that quickens it. Conquest and domination are not in our reckoning, nor agreeable to our principles. But just because we demand unmolested development and the undisturbed government of our own lives upon our own principles of right and liberty, we resent, from whatever quarter it may come, the aggression we ourselves will not practise."

"The interesting and inspiring thing about America, gentlemen, is that she asks nothing for herself except what she has a right to ask for humanity itself. We want no nation's property. We mean to question no nation's honour. We do not wish to stand selfishly in the way of the development of any nation. We want nothing that we cannot get by our own legitimate enterprise and by the inspiration of our own example; and, standing for these things, it is not pretension on our part to say that we are privileged to stand for what every nation would wish to stand for, and speak for those things which all humanity must desire."

"My urgent advice to you would be, not only always to think first of America, but always, also, to think first of humanity. You do not love humanity if you seek to divide humanity into jealous camps. Humanity can be welded together only by love, by sympathy, by justice, not by jealousy and hatred."

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